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THE LIFE OF GEORGE FISHER
(1795-1873)

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE FISHER FAMILY IN MISSISSIPPI

MARY FISHER PARMENTER

WALTER RUSSELL FISHER

LAWRENCE EDWARD MALLETTE



JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

THE H. & W. B. DREW COMPANY

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GEORGE FISHER (1795-1873)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. The Life of George Fisher (1795-1873)

I. Danube to Mississippi (1795-1825) 1
II. Escoseses and Yorkinos (1825-1830) 8
III. Collector, Secretary, Secret Agent (1830-1831) 14
IV. Disturbances at Anahuac (1831-1832) 26
V. Santa Anna, the False "Liberal" (1832-1835) 32
VI. Mexican Federalists and Lone Star Patriots (1835-1837) 48
VII. Citizen of Houston, in the Republic of Texas (1837-1841) 66
VIII. Interlude in Yucatan (1841-1842) 73
IX. Annexation and Afterward (1845-1849) 82
X. Panama Passage (1849-1851) 87
XI. California Land Commission (1852-1856) 98
XII. San Francisco, End of Many Journeys (1857-1873) 106

Appendix A. Family Name and Birthplace of George Fisher 125

Appendix B. Some Records of George Fisher, Early and Late 136

Footnotes to Chapter I 140

CHAPTER II. The Davis Family

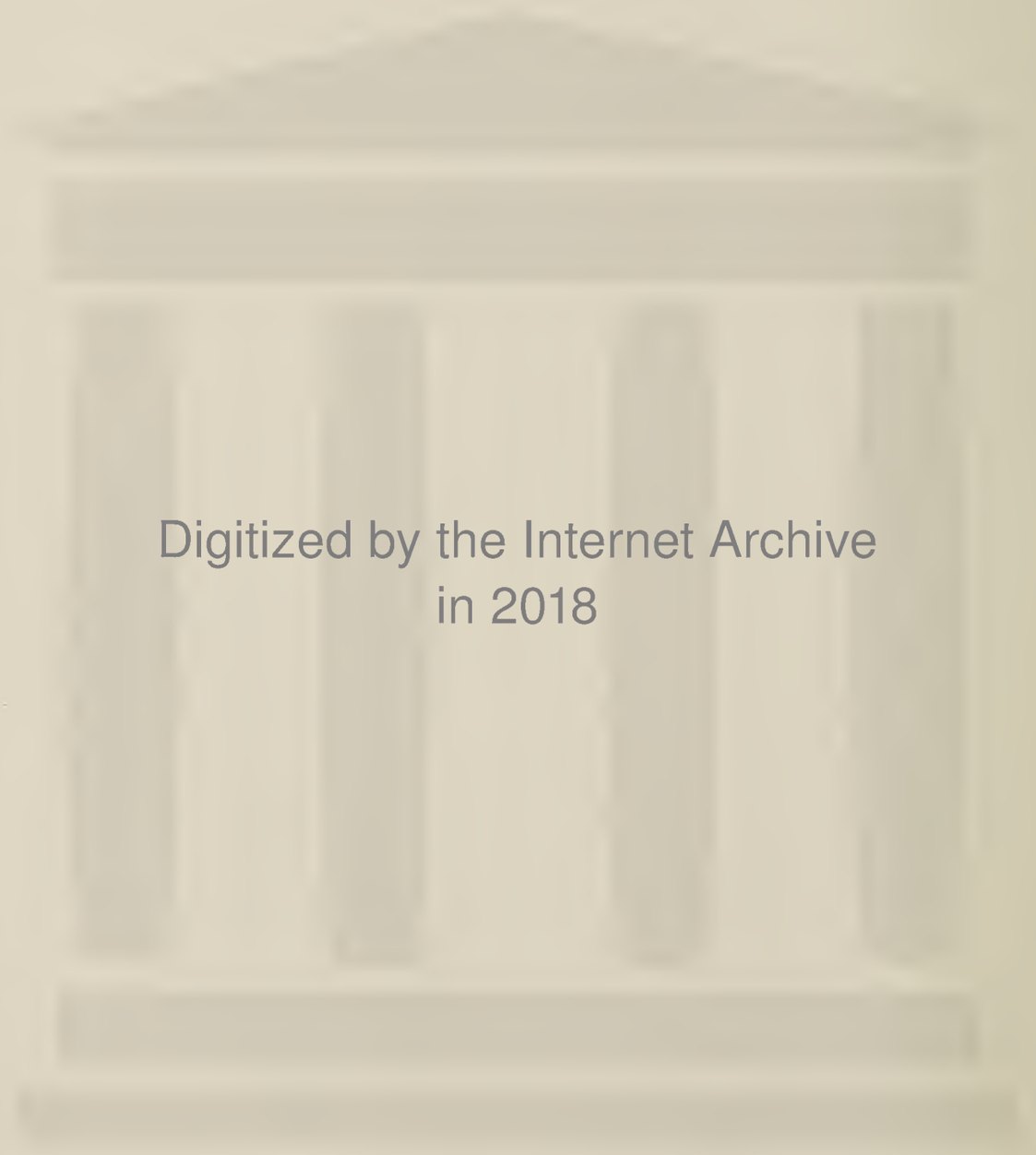
I. Reuben Davis and His Family in Mississippi 167
II. Colonial Ancestry of the Davis Family 177
III. Leah Davis 194
IV. Descendants of Mary Ann (Robinson) Hanna 200

Footnotes to Chapter II 222

CHAPTER III. The Sons of George Fisher and Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher

I. War and Peace in Mississippi 225
II. Family Graveyard 234
III. Descendants of Hiram Fisher 236
IV. Descendants of George W. Fisher 261
V. Descendants of John Fisher 279

Index of Names 283



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FOREWORD

About 1952, or before, the general idea of finding out and recording the past history and present ramifications of the Fisher family of Mississippi, especially the descendants of Hiram Fisher of Claiborne County and of George W. Fisher of Hinds County, began to take shape—largely through the efforts of Lawrence Mallette of Greenwood, Mississippi and Russell Fisher of Claiborne County, himself of some experience as a genealogist. From then on, the Fisher family reunions have been held as outdoor picnics on the last Sunday in June, in locations near the old homes. In 1957 Mary Parmenter of Tallahassee, Florida attended the reunion and thereupon undertook to complete the writing up of the miscellaneous material. The present publication is thus a joint project.

Many years ago, partly in order to join the D.A.R., Blanche (Fisher) Yates had begun making inquiries in order to ascertain both the New England ancestry of her mother, Jeannie (Smith) Fisher, and the Maryland ancestry of her grandmother, Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher. A letter to her from Mary Ann (Hanna) Love of Port Arthur, Texas dated December 8, 1927 established contact with the descendants of Leah (Davis) Robinson. Records identifying James Robinson, second husband of Leah, were supplied by Mrs. Greek L. Rice of Clarksdale, Mississippi. Thus the pattern expanded and clarified.

Soon it became evident that a history of the Fisher family must begin with the biography of the adventurous George Fisher (1795-1873), much of whose life had been involved in the history of Texas. Information from the Archives at the Texas State Library and at the University of Texas Library, and from the Houston City Library, all of which have collections of George Fisher material, revealed that this biographical sketch would in itself be a major undertaking. Our primary debts are to the patient and cooperative archivists and librarians, past and present, in these institutions; and then, most of all, to Mrs. Clark Wright of

El Paso, Texas. She, we learned, had written a biographical study of George Fisher as a figure in the early history of Texas. The synopsis which she kindly furnished to Lawrence Mallette became a framework on which to build our own account of our "controversial" ancestor.

Mrs. Wright, then Miss Bessie Lucille Letts, wrote her study in 1928 as an M.A. thesis in History, at the University of Texas, working under the direction of Professor Eugene C. Barker, long famous as an authority on the history of Texas, and author of the *Life of Stephen F. Austin* (1926). She has given us permission to use and to quote her carefully documented (unpublished) thesis, which Mary Parmenter and Russell Fisher have both gone to Austin, Texas (mainly) to read. Although the surmises and inferences on George Fisher are ours, and though we have gleaned data from additional sources, our main factual foundation for Chapter I has been this thesis, and without Mrs. Wright's cooperation we could not have produced our *Life of George Fisher.*

We have received help from so many libraries and associations, and from so many individuals, both within and beyond the family connection, that it is impossible to name them all. We mention with gratitude Miss Winnie Allen, archivist at the University of Texas Library, and Miss Harriet Smither, archivist at the Texas State Library, who helped us get started, and Dr. Llerena B. Friend, librarian at the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center at the University, who helped us finish. In Tallahassee, Miss Frances Haynes, reference librarian at Florida State University Library, has been of unique assistance in getting needed references and source material; and Dr. Anna Forbes Liddell, professor of philosophy at Florida State University, not only read with critical interest the manuscript of the *Life of George Fisher* but showed the weary great granddaughter how she ought to rewrite it.

In addition, we wish to thank the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and especially Dr. William D. McCain its former director, for many courtesies and services. Our thanks go to the California Historical Society for information, and to Mr. Ozé Van Wyck of San Francisco for his efforts to find more, on the later life there of George Fisher. We are greatly obliged to Dr.

Andrew Forest Muir of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas for his having copied and transmitted to the Texas State Archives the Fisher-Wyllie correspondence which he ran across in Hawaii in 1945.

Last, we think it of primary importance that Mr. Vlaho S. Vlahovic of New York is now searching in Yugoslavia and in Hungary for records and information on the origins and early life of George Fisher. Thanks to him, we may yet come to know our true family name!

M.F.P.
W.R.F.
L.E.M.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF GEORGE FISHER (1795-1873)

I. Danube to Mississippi (1795-1825)

George Fisher, soldier, adventurer, scholar, and pioneer, was born near Budapest, Hungary, on April 30, 1795. Emigrating to the United States of America in his early youth, he became a naturalized citizen in Port Gibson, Claiborne County, Mississippi. By marrying Elizabeth Davis, whose family had come from Maryland to that same region a few years before, and had there established a cotton plantation, he founded the family whose connections we here propose to trace.

Always Republican—that is, anti-monarchical and democratic —in his views of world politics, this "citizen of the world" was in turn a citizen of the United States, of the Republic of Mexico, and of the Republic of Texas. When in 1845 Texas was admitted as a state of the Union, George Fisher again became a citizen of the United States. Becoming afterward a citizen of California at about the time it entered the Union, he there continued to play a part in the great adventure of building the American West, until his death in San Francisco in 1873. He was married several times, but we know of descendants by his first wife only: the Fisher family is a Mississippi family.

Our knowledge of his earlier life is derived mainly from two brief printed accounts, both based on information furnished by himself. (For an analysis of the contradictory evidence, see Appendix A, page 125). One, a vivid description by John Lloyd Stephens,[1] the famous traveler and archaeologist, who chanced to encounter George Fisher in Yucatan, presents him as a picturesque world figure, concerned with the complex struggle of Texans, of Yucatecos, and of liberal-minded Mexican patriots, against the misrule of Santa Anna. The other, written some years afterward by John Livingston,[2] a New York lawyer who probably met him in Washington, D. C., when Fisher was in his late fifties, shows

the then staid and respected Secretary to the California Land Commission as one who had led an active life in both Europe and America, and who as master of some eighteen languages, and as a man of varied experience and unusual abilities, was of importance in the fast-growing city of San Francisco.

His family—and whatever the family name had been, it was not Fisher—was of "Slavano-Serbian" descent, but his parents had lived, and George was born, says Livingston, at Szekes-Feher-Var or Stuhl Weissenburg not far from Budapest, Hungary. His father having died during the boy's early childhood, George was placed under the charge of Stephen Stratimirovitch, Archbishop of the Orthodox Church in Carlowitz, Austria. Here in the College of Carlowitz he must have gained his knowledge of Greek and Latin and of several of the sixteen modern languages he spoke and wrote.[3] He was being trained to become a priest of the Orthodox Church;[4] but in 1813 he escaped from the seminary and joined the Serbian revolutionary forces under the heroic "Black George" Petrovitch, fighting in vain to save Belgrade from recapture by the Turks.

After the loss of Belgrade, the defeated Serbians, young George among them, were driven into an inhospitable Austria, which did not welcome the presence of "revolutionaries." The Austrian government authorized their formation into a Slavonian Legion, used them to help defeat Napoleon in the Italian Campaign, and then disbanded them. Thus in the year of Waterloo young George, without name, home, or country, came to understand (through his feet!) the complexities and injustices of European politics. As he trudged (Stephens says "traded") along the Danube and on through parts of Greece and Turkey as far east as Adrianople and then back again through Austria, he learned not only how to make his way in a hostile world, but how to do it in many languages. For him, as for many of Lord Byron's generation, Turkey remained the worst of the oppressors of mankind, and the freeing of Greece from its hold a cause which symbolized Liberty herself.

After "many adventures"—but we are not told what—he turned back through Austria and Germany, coming at last to Bremen and then to Amsterdam.[5] Determined to seek freedom

and fortune in the western world, he embarked on a Dutch ship bound for Philadelphia. He was twenty and penniless, and what name he signed, or should have signed, we do not know. The point is important in a family history. According to Livingston, who had read Stephens and was aware of some discrepancy, but is nevertheless sure that he had got the authentic story from Fisher himself, it was thus that our family name originated:

> He entered the Delaware river in the month of September, 1815, and was detained on board the ship as a redemptionist, which is the term applied to a person liable to be sold for his passage money. Again his adventurous spirit arose, and being overpowered in an attempt to regain his liberty, he was confined on board until nearly the end of the year, when growing desperate, he with two other companions took possession of the ship's boat, and landing above the city, escaped.
>
> Their landing, nevertheless, attracted the attention of some persons on the shore, who approached them suspiciously, but soon turned back, apparently satisfied, saying to each other, "Fishers!"

Livingston explains that after George had escaped from the Archbishop's guardianship he had feared to use his true family name, and that he now took the new one of "Fisher" as of good omen in the New World. Since this is what George Fisher himself stated seriously to this biographer, we must accept it. Whatever the original name, it would be a "Slavano-Serbian" one, not Hungarian, even though George was born in Hungary. Possibly it was Sagic.[6] At all events, it was as George Fisher that our ancestor lived his long and many-sided life on this side of the Atlantic.

Livingston tells us merely that Fisher after "many wanderings . . . selected Mississippi for his residence." Stephens says he came down the Ohio and the Mississippi. Why did he settle in Port Gibson? No doubt he was, in general, attracted by the fame of the "Natchez Country" and by New Orleans as the gateway to the fabulous unknown Southwest beyond the Louisiana Purchase. That he arrived a few months before Mississippi became a state is shown by the entries of the Board of Police Court of Claiborne

County, Territory of Mississippi. In the April term, 1817:[7]

> Ordered that a temporary license be issued George Fisher to operate a Tavern in the Town of Port Gibson, he having paid the Deposit.

And in the July term, 1817:

> Ordered that a license be issued George Fisher to operate a Tailoring shop in the Town of Port Gibson, he having paid the Deposit.

One wonders where and when he could have learned the use of the shears and the needle—in Philadelphia?

Just three years after his arrival in America he made his first application for citizenship:

> Personally appeared in Open Court, George Fisher, a foreigner, who maketh Oath it is *Bona Fide* his intention to become a Citizen of the United States and to Terminate all Allegiance and Fidelity to any Sovereignty whatsoever—and particularly to George the Third of Great Britain and Ireland—and further this deponent will support the Constitution of the United States.
>
> Sworn to in Open Court this
> 16th day of September, 1818
> Peter Van Dorn, Clk.
>
> George Fisher
> (signature)

That is, in Port Gibson no question was raised about his name, or his actual former nationality or allegiances. In this same year he took on two other important obligations: on October 8, 1818 he married Elizabeth Davis; and on December 17 he became a Free and Accepted Mason of Washington Lodge No. 3, York Rite, in Port Gibson.[8] In 1819 George Fisher was acting as Assistant Commissioner on a Claiborne County board set up to pay Federal pensions to veterans of the American Revolution.

For the next ten years he was active in local affairs. Whether or not he himself was skilled in the tailor's art, as his business increased much of the actual work was probably done by his journeymen. His first two children were born in Port Gibson: Margaret on July 5, 1819 and Hiram on May 19, 1821. Then in August,

1821 a few months after the death of Reuben Davis, his wife's father, the Fishers moved from the town to "Twin Halls," the large house built by the Davis family on the plantation on the Big Black. From 1821 to 1830, though during part of that time he was in Mexico, his post office address was Rocky Springs, Claiborne County. At a time when cotton was coming to be of supreme importance in the state, when travel was increasing upon the Natchez Trace, as was steamboat traffic upon the great river, and when in Natchez itself there were already famous and beautiful houses, George Fisher had, by marrying into the Davis family, assumed the role of planter. The Port Gibson *Correspondent* for February 2, 1822 carried the notice for the sale of his personal property in the town, and a request that all who had unsettled accounts should come and clear them with him. Another tailor advertised the opening of a shop in the place recently occupied by Mr. Fisher.

Then on April 8, 1822, the required residence of five years being fulfilled, George Fisher "came into the court, and proved when and how and where he entered within the United States," and there before William Davis, clerk, took the final oath as required for aliens to become naturalized citizens.[9] We can only wonder how he presented these salient facts of his entry! This clerk, who was the brother of Fisher's wife Elizabeth, may have learned the true story; but he recorded no details. In 1822 also George Fisher was appointed a County Ranger. We may wonder how deeply he ever became involved in the actual management of the plantation, or if most of that effort may not have fallen upon his wife, or her brothers, or the hired overseer.

By September 9, Fisher had opened a new tailoring shop in Port Gibson, having "acquired the knowledge of cutting garments by an entire new approved geometrical system," and having "made such arrangements with his friends in the Atlantic cities as to enable him to be early in possession of the latest fashions." He now advertises urgently for two journeyman tailors and an apprentice boy. But a month before, in Natchez, George Fisher and a partner, William Carpenter of Port Gibson, had been licensed as merchants and importers to deal in silks, linens, woolens, cottons, laces, embroideries, soaps and perfumes. In November, in the Natchez *Mississippi Republican,* George Fisher announces the opening of

his new tailoring business on Main Street, while on the same day he and William S. Hewitt advertise a new cleaning and dyeing establishment on Second Street in Natchez, where clothes damaged by dampness or sea water will be "brought to former colour without injuring goods."[10] These enterprises continued into 1828 and 1829. Surely he was prospering, finding ways to invest capital. Though George Fisher was now a planter, and no longer lived in Port Gibson, and never in Natchez, from "Twin Halls" he could easily go back and forth to both places either by road or by river.

Though he was absent from it a good deal, his home throughout the 1820's was "Twin Halls." Here his little daughter Margaret died on September 4, 1821. Here his son George was born on July 15, 1823, and his son John on September 5, 1825, the year of Fisher's first visit to Mexico.[11] Living on a plantation had not meant losing touch with the greater world. During 1822 and 1823 translations and articles on Spain and Italy known to be his appeared in Natchez newspapers. His signed *Manifesto,* dated March 8, 1823 and sent out as a circular letter to rouse public opinion in favor of the Greek Revolution, is recognized today as one of the significant efforts made in America toward freeing immortal Hellas from the Turk. As Fisher himself said in later years, his "appeal was heard, and the American people came to the rescue and stood by Greece."[12]

George Fisher knew of two notorious attempts to found independent colonies in East Texas, at or near Nacogdoches—that is, to plant American "republics" upon Mexican territory. The first was that of James Long, indignant at President Monroe for not going west of the Sabine River when he made the settlement with Spain in 1819: the United States had acquired Florida, but not Texas. Long led a filibustering expedition across the Mexican boundary, still vague, from Louisiana, to found his short-lived republic, the exploit being the outcome of a public meeting held in Natchez. Many, including Fisher, felt the "invasion" to be part of Mexico's justifiable revolution against Spain—a "Republican" struggle against reactionary Monarchism. But he and others withdrew after they saw that Long's motives were questionable.

The second occurred just after Fisher first went to Mexico City. Haden Edwards became an empresario, or agent for coloni-

zation, in East Texas. Near Nacogdoches he planned to set up a colony of 800 families on land already occupied by both squatters and legal Mexican settlers. In the ensuing misunderstandings with these old "Spanish" settlers, with new would-be American colonists, and with the Political Chief at Bexar, Haden Edwards went to the United States to attract influential promoters. His brother Benjamin Edwards then launched the Fredonian Rebellion—his aim being to divide Texas between the Indians and the Republic of Fredonia. Such an exploit roused no sympathy among the "American" colonies already established in Texas, under the Republic of Mexico; of these, Stephen F. Austin's at San Felipe on the Brazos was chief. But it got some support on American editorial pages and gave publicity to the idea of emigrating to Texas, a largely unoccupied region which many thought "ought" to have been part of the Louisiana Purchase and "might" become part of the United States.[13] George Fisher, already in Mexico City, saw the opportunity offered by more legitimate colonization in the region around Nacogdoches.

But long before then in Natchez and in New Orleans when he had been buying supplies and imports for his various enterprises, he could have learned of many current projects and "excitements." In the various languages at his command, and through contacts he kept with the foreign press, he heard of whatever might be rumored in Paris or Havana or Mexico City. In 1822 he had become a Royal Arch Mason, and at that period in history to be a member of the international order of Freemasons could lead to more than local lodge meetings in rural county seats. It might become the way leading to events of international importance.[14] It was apparently thus that George Fisher's life became intertwined for some ten years with the complexities and swift reversals of political affairs in the Republic of Mexico, only recently freed from the "tyranny and decadence of Spain."

Records of his activities in Mexico and in Texas, which was a part of Mexico, seem to leave little time for his being at home between 1825 and 1836, and Texas historians know little of his life in Mississippi. Nevertheless, his commercial enterprises in Port Gibson and in Natchez continued in his name at least until 1828, and at various times he did go back to the plantation home on "Big

Sand" creek, near the Big Black River in Claiborne County. He was always hopeful of making his fortune, or of becoming a man of some public importance in the Mexican government, and of arranging for his family to emigrate to Texas.

II. Escoseses and Yorkinos (1825-1830)

When George Fisher went to Mexico City, "impelled by love of adventure," he arrived on a new scene at a critical moment in its history and soon took part in its current "excitements."

Mexico's Declaration of Independence from Spain had been made in 1821, after which it was briefly a monarchy or "Empire." Then "Emperor" Iturbide had been overthrown by young General Santa Anna who—since it was he who declared the Republic—for several years thereafter appeared as a "liberal" Republican. The two main parties, or their leaders, though nominally either Centralist or Federalist,[15] continued for years merely to gain enough military power to overthrow each other, without much progress ever being made by Federalists toward their aim of self-government for states within a Federal union, and without the Centralists achieving dictatorships that were proof against violent overthrow by rebel "liberals" or "patriots."

By 1825 the Centralists in Mexico City were usually also Monarchists, seeking perhaps some Bourbon prince—and they were Freemasons. Or rather, the "Escoseses" or Scottish Rite Masons were usually Monarchists, while the more recently founded "Yorkinos" or York Rite Masons were active Federalists—striving, said the Centralists, to increase self-government so that the region called Texas would sooner or later be taken over by the United States of the North. The American minister, Joel R. Poinsett, may or may not have been secretly empowered to buy Texas from Mexico; he was expected by President John Quincy Adams to negotiate a boundary line. His efforts were impeded by the British, and all proposals by the United States were delayed and blocked by the chronic suspicions of Mexico.[16] After a Centralist revolution, Poinsett became *persona non grata* in Mexico City; for it was he and his Federalist friends who had founded the anti-Centralist lodges of York Rite Masons there. Livingston says it was George

Fisher who took the lead in this, and it may well be that he was a "front" for Poinsett:

> Zealous in everything he undertakes, [Fisher] was active in establishing lodges, a Grand Lodge, Chapter, and Grand Chapter in the City of Mexico in 1825, being assisted by the Hon. J. R. Poinsett, American Minister, and Governor Vidal, formerly of Louisiana.

According to the accepted historical account,[17] the Federalist leaders—General Guerrero, a distinguished officer in the revolutionary struggle against Spain; Lorenzo de Zavala, Senator, and later Governor of the State of Mexico;[18] and several other senators and cabinet officers—had formed five York Rite lodges in opposition to the Centralists' Scottish Rite ones. Zavala states that they then asked Mr. Poinsett to obtain for them a charter from the Grand Lodge in New York. Poinsett did so: but he tried to remain in the background, as he was then attacked quite viciously by the Centralists. The very success of the Federalists' governmental reforms labeled them "Yorkino" and "Americano," and Poinsett was denounced as an ambassador who played Mexican politics. When in January, 1830 at the "reiterated demand" of the Mexican government, by then Centralist and anti-American, Poinsett left Mexico, George Fisher accompanied him to New Orleans, "having been engaged in procuring material for Mr. Poinsett's work on Mexico."[19]

Andrew Jackson, elected President of the United States in 1828, soon sent the clever promoter Anthony Butler to take over the place left vacant by Joel R. Poinsett. Butler, through five years of ostensible negotiations over boundary lines, kept the Mexican government firm in its suspicions that the United States would seize the first opportunity to acquire Texas in one way or another.

But to go back to 1825: Fisher's Masonic connections brought him into close association with prominent political leaders, and he had a chance to learn much about the game of Mexican politics, one that was neither dull nor safe. It was played for high stakes and complicated by the fact that leading players sometimes changed sides, while lesser ones sought to retain their jobs, if possible, under changed administrations and with imperfectly reconstructed loyalties. Recriminations and self-defenses were delivered in the

highest style of classic oratory, that of Cicero against Catiline. When Bravo, who was Vice-President of Mexico and Grand Master of the Escoseses, led a revolt, he was suppressed; Bustamente became Vice-President. But then two Yorkinos clashed: President Guerrero overcame War Minister Pedraza in a *coup* accomplished with some riot and pillage in the capital. This shift should have been favorable for George Fisher, who was a friend of the grim old Guerrero; Fisher did seek to serve him during his brief presidency in 1829. But then during a surprise invasion by Spain, repulsed at Tampico by the gallant General Santa Anna, President Guerrero (on the whole Federalist) was, early in 1830, overthrown by Bustamente (on the whole Centralist).[20] It was at this point, as we have seen, that Poinsett and Fisher left Mexico.

The prominent Yorkino-Federalist, Lorenzo de Zavala, had been a friend to George Fisher. As Governor of the State of Mexico he had in 1829 approved the special decree of the legislature of that state whereby Fisher had become a citizen of the Republic.[21] During his precarious presidency, Guerrero had appointed Zavala as Secretary of the Treasury and head of his cabinet. Zavala's friendship was one in every respect well worth having, and no doubt under a continued stable Federalist regime Fisher's prospects would have been bright indeed. But when, early in 1830, the Centralists took over, Zavala decided to tour the United States and study the principles and practice of representative government —that is, he too was "out," and his hopes for a truly "republican" Mexico were dimming.

Zavala had at first promoted Fisher's interests in two ways— ways that might have worked well, but did not. He had made him a sub-partner in his contract to establish a colony in the Nacogdoches region, Zavala to settle 500 families, Fisher bringing in 40 of these on 20 *sitios* or square leagues. Also, Zavala had helped him to get a Guerrero appointment as chief collector of customs at the port of Galveston. The city was as yet non-existent, but the bay received the waters of the Trinity River and the San Jacinto, and it was just east of the mouth of the Brazos. The customhouse would regulate the commerce for both Nacogdoches and San Felipe, the two fast-growing regions of such importance for the future.

Increase in Anglo-American population had been encouraged, but now it was feared. Leaders of both political parties had begun to favor planting colonies of Europeans or of Spanish-speaking Mexican farmers, if any could be found willing to move into the Texan wilderness. For several years the able and astute Manuel de Mier y Terán, Commissioner of Colonization, had been traveling about Texas, drawing up a plan to save Texas for Mexico. First, in order to deprive the Americans of their advantage in labor-power, Negro slaves must be prohibited. On September 15, 1829 President Guerrero decreed the abolition of slavery in all of Mexico, and the Texan colonists, who could not raise cotton or sugar without slaves, hated Guerrero. But since Terán, now Commandante General of the Eastern States, was not yet prepared for the military occupation of Texas, he wrote to his friend Stephen F. Austin that he had got Texas exempted from the decree; the colonists loved Terán. They did not want Texas to be bought by Anthony Butler for the five million dollars said to be authorized by President Andrew Jackson; they wanted to be loyal to the Mexican Constitution of 1824, which guaranteed their land titles, and they wanted to be let alone.

Now in the new Centralist regime, the Minister of Foreign Relations, Lucas Alamán, had just steered through Congress what came to be known as the Law of April 6, 1830. It applied to all of Mexico, but bore hardest on Texas. To Terán's general plan for Mexican colonization, abolition of slavery, and establishment of customhouses, all to be enforced by a military occupation, was added Alamán's Article Eleven: the prohibition of further immigration from the United States. All this seemed to spell ruin; therefore Austin could not believe that his friend Terán would enforce it. The colonists awaited a sign of change, and it was to be the arrival of George Fisher at Galveston.[22]

But to go back: We have seen that Fisher had sailed with Mr. Poinsett to New Orleans. From there on February 10 Fisher writes to Zavala, who was still in Mexico City, that it will not be necessary to go to New York to find financial help. Emigration is so abundant that in a few years Texas will be the most populous of Mexican states.

> For this reason it is necessary that without delay I leave for Texas to mark out the boundaries of the twenty *sitios* ceded to me, thus impeding the excessive colonizing by the emigrants from the U. S., who go to Texas in great numbers, like locusts. If proper attention is not given now to the marking out of the land, there will soon be difficulties of titles and ownership . . . .
>
> I would advise you . . . to start colonizing the 500 families on the land you hold, but not through a Company. Neither should you sell the lands; but start colonizing, using your own means, and through the help of an intelligent and trusted agent; for the population of immigrants already living on your land is numerous . . . . They would be willing to become your colonists as long as their land is secured . . . .

It is easy to guess Fisher's candidate for the intelligent and trusted agent. He sees the need for haste. If they could register as part of their 500 the "American" families already there as squatters, they would be far better off than if they waited until after the new laws went into effect; after that, they would have trouble with the hopelessly entangled claims of those already there. Fisher continues:

> Before the six years that the law allows you, you will have 500 families settled; if emigration continues as it is now, I say not 500 but 2000 . . . Without any loss of time, go to your lands in Texas, either from the U. S. or overland; resigning all public office, give preference to this matter which will without doubt provide for you considerable fortune.
>
> As for me, I will make it a point to comply with my contract. I will go on to Nacogdoches rather than to New York, and from there I will go to Galveston. From there [Galveston] I will be able to give news as to what is going on in the customs of that port to the Deputy of San Luis de Potosi and to the Supreme Government.[23]

That is, Fisher had already been appointed as an agent of the government not only to establish a customhouse in Texas, but also to make reports on the general situation there. He hoped, in spite of the recent political changes, to hang onto his job. He feared

(quite rightly) that Zavala was about to give over the empresario rights to a company that would have the capital needed for promotion.

That Fisher was quite uncertain of his own situation is shown in the letter which he wrote on the same day to Anastacio Zerecero, a friend of both Zavala and Poinsett. He has, he says, received no commission, credentials, instructions, or money for expenses. But that customhouses should be established is evident: the Texans are exchanging cotton for sugar, flour, agricultural implements, and cloth of all sorts, this flourishing trade going through their ports without legal sanction. The Mexican government ought to set up proper consular procedures, and also keep out runaway slaves and other undesirables; the problem of contraband tobacco is also serious.

This informative letter was, a little later, introduced as evidence in Zerecero's trial for conspiracy, and thus (through various channels) brought to the attention of Bustamente—who ordered copies sent to the Governor of Coahuila-Texas and to Commissioner Terán. The implication was that it *was* high time to stop this long-established smuggling of tobacco, and this emigration of undesirables to Texas. But in the meantime George Fisher's appointment as collector of customs remained unconfirmed, his advice to Zavala unheeded. Within a few months Zavala went to the United States and made over his empresario contract to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co. of New York.[24]

The uneasy Fisher remained in New Orleans, except for a visit home in February-March, until well into April. He continued to write letters to officials of the national government of Mexico, and to those of the state of Coahuila-Texas, concerning the problems arising from the increase of population and trade in East Texas. It was evident that a system of tariff regulation was long overdue; whether the Mexican government was capable of setting up a reasonable one, and whether George Fisher was likely to administer it reasonably, remained to be seen.

At his home he no doubt discussed the Nacogdoches project with his wife Elizabeth. She may have been dubious about leaving the security and responsibility of the plantation home to start anew in Texas. Their son Hiram was now nine years old, George was

seven, John was four. (A new baby, to be named Maria Louisa, would be born in the ensuing November, as we learn later). Elizabeth might recall the Davis family's long overland journey from Maryland only about twenty years before, with household goods and Negro servants and little children. But so far as we know she made no objection to the plan, and certainly her husband expected to take his family to Texas as soon as he could himself become established there. Since George Fisher was a Mexican citizen with an interest in a colonization contract already made, the new law should not keep them out. He got back to Texas soon after it was promulgated.

III. Collector, Secretary, Secret Agent (1830-1831)

Early in May, 1830 George Fisher appeared at San Felipe. After a conference with Stephen F. Austin, he decided to establish the customs at Galveston temporarily, mainly to stop the contraband trade in tobacco being carried on with the United States and Cuba.[25] Fisher was still working in the dark, having received no instructions from the Mexican government, but Austin treated him with courtesy and respect. Fisher asked his advice on the Nacogdoches colony; Austin suggested he consult General Terán.

On May 18, Fisher was officially recognized by the local government, the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe. He then announced in the *Texas Gazette* that he was placing the main customhouse at the mouth of the Brazos, but also placing a deputy on Galveston Island; ships on entering port must present manifests of cargo, and passengers must have passports. The *Gazette* also published an editorial by Austin himself: all citizens must unite to aid the collector of customs in regularizing the situation, and in doing away with all smuggling. Fisher advertised for bids for constructing a brick building at Brazos bar, and a lighthouse on Galveston Island. Upon July 1 he received his first order from General Terán—and it was an order to suspend operations!

As it was dated May 24, most of Fisher's work had been done since it was issued; had his administration been legal? Fisher was quite sure that the suspension was because of his Federalist connections—his appointment by Guerrero and his association with Zavala and Poinsett. Fisher wrote to General Terán, explaining in

detail both his attempt to establish the customs at Galveston, and his contract with Zavala.[26] All the "correspondence" (and much of it still exists) dealing with Fisher's efforts in 1830 may now strike us as a comedy of errors; but both he and Stephen F. Austin felt much genuine anguish, as they worked at cross purposes, each at some length and at great distance explaining matters to General Terán at Matamoros. Two sharp strokes suffered by Fisher: First, in June, Fisher had embargoed the schooner *Canõn* with contraband tobacco from New Orleans, but (still without orders from the "Supreme Government") he found he had to proceed according to state law and through the local authorities—who politely ignored his appeals. It was while he was "keeping watch" on board the *Canõn,* wondering what to do next, that he received Terán's suspension order.[27]

Second, though he had apparently been dropped by Zavala, and hardly knew whether he had a right to "colonize" or not, an article printed in a Centralist paper, attacking Poinsett and Zavala, charged that Zavala had authorized George Fisher to sell land in their grant and that Fisher had no doubt been selling to the Anglo-Americans![26] . . . The *Texas Gazette,* now anti-Federalist, on July 19 carried an article critical of Zavala and Poinsett. Fisher, aware that times had indeed changed, remained in San Felipe. He would be glad to serve under Terán, if Terán needed him. He still wanted to live in Texas, but the only way to "colonize" seemed to be to join Austin's colony.

General Terán explained to Austin that the customhouse had been opened prematurely, and Austin agreed. It certainly had been: Terán did not yet have troops enough to enforce his "plan," and he was not yet ready for any trouble with the Texans. In fact, he was not yet perfectly sure of the stability of the Centralist regime of Bustamente, though he himself was now, in a sense, one of its important members, or administrators. He could not afford failure, and with great urbanity of manner he put in much hard work. He was probably glad to have available a man of Fisher's ability and education, though any appointment must come from Terán, and not from Guerrero. Terán had difficulty enough "administering" Texas from Matamoros at the mouth of the Rio Grande, simply because of distance, uncertainty of communications, bad weather,

epidemics, lack of revenue, and the fact that few Texans knew Spanish, and fewer Mexicans knew English. Meanwhile, Terán was expected to pay his troops out of money collected in customhouses yet unbuilt; but until he had troops how could he enforce the customs regulations? George Fisher had indeed rushed things a bit.

Fisher himself had now become insecure and frightened. He was convinced that Zavala was assigning their contract to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co., and that his high hopes were gone. General Terán could not yet establish his line of customhouses, and Fisher was not sure how he stood with Terán. He applied for acceptance as one of Austin's colonists, and on July 17 Austin recommended him to the Governor of Coahuila-Texas:

> Citizen George Fisher . . . is married, father of several children, of good moral character, with personal qualities and virtues that are a credit to his industry, much aptitude in business, knows various languages, among them Spanish and English. I consider that he can be useful in these colonies where there is a lack of intelligent people who can understand so easily both languages.[28]

At the same time Austin recommended that Fisher be employed as Secretary by the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe. Fisher accepted the position on July 19, subject to the wishes of General Terán. The records had sometimes been kept by Austin's close friend and trusted partner, Samuel M. Williams, who knew Spanish and who was not only a member of the Ayuntamiento but who was, in a sense, Austin's "second in command" in the affairs of the colony. Both men, and especially Austin, had long been overburdened with the labors of pen, ink and paper, most business being necessarily conducted through long personal letters about whose delivery the only certainty was delay. George Fisher's services were more than welcome. We may at this distance say that it seems regrettable that his personal and professional pride made him continue to see himself as an official of the Mexican Government rather than a colonist under the mild paternalism of Stephen F. Austin.

He hoped to be both. He was listed in the Register of Families as a merchant from Mississippi, with a wife, three children, and

seven dependents; he received one *sitio* of land, petitioned for the share allowed for families, and bought six town lots. At their meeting on August 2, the Ayuntamiento voted to pay Fisher eight hundred dollars a year, payable quarterly, with extra pay for translating the official communications from the Political Chief, and the Acts from the beginning of the year.[29]

On September 16 there was a celebration of Mexico's Independence Day, "Jorge" Fisher being on the committee-in-charge. If it was a happy day, it was the last happy one he was to have in San Felipe—for on it Stephen F. Austin told him they were no longer friends. Austin writes on September 17 to Terán:

> . . . It pleased me very much to learn through your letter that Col. Juan Davis Bradburn is coming to Texas, to take charge at Galveston.
>
> . . . It is not in the interest of Texas, considering the present state of things, to have an administrator appointed for Galveston who is not a native Mexican. Besides, he should be a man with much patience and prudence; the one who appeared here [Fisher] does not seem to me to have those qualities.[30]

The reason for Austin's change of opinion follows: Fisher has been reporting as prevalent the very conditions which had made necessary the Law of April 6, and which might even (if rumor be true) make the present anti-American regime seek to put an end to the colony.

We think that George Fisher had been trying to prove to General Terán that a customhouse was indeed overdue, and that Fisher would make a well-informed and zealous official within it; but he had committed the fatal error of overreaching himself and destroying his own best opportunity in the Texas of 1830. Austin goes on:

> I have read with no little surprise the letter which Mr. George Fisher wrote to you, a copy of which was sent to the comisario here. In it mention is made of the African Negro slave trade with the Island of Cuba, of contraband trading, smuggling, etc. Such a letter could harm us very

> much with the Government of Mexico; it could produce false impressions, as the things mentioned are untrue.[30]
>
> When this man arrived here, I treated him with frankness and gave him the consideration deserved by a government agent (as I thought he was); but he has returned the favors badly. For that reason, I told him yesterday that all friendly relations between us were ended.

There is irony in Austin's pleasure in the coming of Colonel Bradburn; he was later to be found to have less patience or prudence than George Fisher. As for Fisher's report on the bringing in of contraband, including African slaves, that charge may have been all too true; but its very truth made Fisher doubly obnoxious. At any rate, Fisher had written it in the previous June, when he thought he was a customs officer doing his duty, and Austin's indignation may sound trumped up. But Austin was now "insecure" himself, uncertain of the true attitude of either Commissioner Terán or President Bustamente toward himself—that is, toward his colony, for it was for him his life.

Austin, always oddly emotional and confidential on paper, though cool and distant in daily contacts with his public and his people, goes on to confide to his dear friend Terán how weary he is of his life as Empresario:

> Fighting against jealousy, slander, and ingratitude tires me out . . . The settlers are . . . foreigners not only to the Empresario, but to themselves—to the country, the laws, the government, the language . . . Jealous of each others' rights, of a thousand and one imaginary things, one day they . . . denounce the Empresario as a rogue and a schemer, the next day cover him with glory. Besides, the colonization laws are a maze of confusion, darkness, and difficulty.[31]

Because of the countless revolutions in Mexico, one cannot tell from one month to the next which party will hold the reins. "I should not get discouraged after nine years, but there are times when I am very heavy of heart." Terán, too, was heavy-hearted at times.

What happened next is not very clear, except that there was "war" between Citizen Fisher and the officials at San Felipe, as

soon as they became sure that he had been informing upon them in some fashion. Each side now hoped to injure the other in the eyes of Terán, or of the Political Chief, or of the Governor of Coahuila-Texas, or of whoever might be in power in the City of Mexico. Two who disapproved of George Fisher were Comisario Williams of San Felipe and Alcalde John Austin of Brazoria, the two who knew most of what actually did come in and out of the Brazos, or Galveston Bay.

By October the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe was determined to expel this troublesome Secretary. As one rereads Williams's voluminous and excitedly written minutes, one wonders why these officials should have become quite so perturbed at Fisher's reports. What harm could he have done these innocent and loyal colonists? Of course it is true that they were unwilling to become embroiled in Mexican party politics, and afraid to cause offense to the incomprehensible Centralist regime. The presence of a "spy" put them into a panic. At a special meeting called at 5:00 P.M. on October 5, 1830, with Samuel M. Williams acting as Secretary, it was voted to inform Fisher of his dismissal and to request him to deliver up all papers in his possession.

The council charged that Fisher

> by his actions and conduct appears strenuously anxious to trammil the body in difficulties to further his own individual views; . . . also the said Fisher has latterly declared . . . that . . . last year while residing in Mexico he acted as a secret emissary and spy of General Guerrero the then president of the Republic, and consequently opposing . . . the work of reformation, and the restoration of the Constitution and Laws from the shackels which burdened them.[32]

That is, in 1830 the colonists saw Bustamente as the restorer of the Constitution, Guerrero (whom Bustamente's firing squad had in any case executed on February 14) as a rebel.

> And since Fisher has been acting as secretary to this body he has endeavored to take advantage of their total ignorance of the Spanish language, and cause the body to declare by its official act that the members were partisans,

> and entered into the views and feelings of political parties, without informing the members . . .when they had always manifested to Fisher that as adopted citizens they owed obedience to the Constitution and laws.

It is not quite clear here whether Williams meant that Fisher tried to make the Ayuntamiento appear to be Centralist or Federalist; but Williams (who knew Spanish very well indeed) emphasizes the members' ignorance of the official language through which they were governed and in which they were required to conduct all business in Texas.

> Unacquainted with the Castillian language, they could not prudently enter into political questions which they could not understand.

The Ayuntamiento then charges Fisher with the "false" report that it was a practice of the colonists to bring in Negro slaves from Havana. A "mild note" of dismissal directed Fisher to deliver up all their official records.

But this he "refused" to do! On the evening of October 16, at another special meeting, with only four members present, Chairman (and Alcalde) Barnett stated that two important "original" drafts were missing: that of their "answer" to the Ayuntamiento of Saltillo (the capital of Coahuila-Texas), and that of their "answer" to the four deputies, all dated September 27, 1830.[33] Fisher had duly transcribed them into the proper record book, but now he said he had burned the originals.

The members voted to go immediately that night to Fisher's room, led by the Alcalde and accompanied by the sheriff. There Fisher, "instigated by the basest passions of the human heart," repeated that he had burned the two "originals." But when the sheriff began to search his luggage, packed for his departure, Fisher quietly produced the documents from some packets securely tied and wrapped in clothing, taken from a locked trunk. (A later version of the tale is more exciting: Fisher attempted to swallow the "most important" document, but being seized by the throat—by the sheriff?—was forced to disgorge it). Further search revealed copies of a number of other documents made from originals which had been properly deposited in the archives.

All this was worse than embarrassing for George Fisher: it was ruinous. We may be deeply shocked that this nefarious agent tried to make off with public records "for the purpose of creating confusion and excitement." Or we may observe that it would have been more prudent for him to have left the two "originals" and to have made extra copies of them for his own use. Or we may ask: what harm could have been done to San Felipe by Fisher's "use" of records of communications already on file in Saltillo? Possibly both San Felipe and Saltillo feared the reactions of Mexico City, or of Commandante General Terán in Matamoros. At any rate the loyal colonists were thrown into deep apprehension, and they said it was because Fisher's Spanish wording (false, or over-vehement?) made them seem guilty of taking sides in Mexican party politics.

It is true that in one of the "originals" the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe does express a decided opinion that the "four deputies" (favorable to San Felipe) should *not* be removed (because of the "Jalapa plan," a proviso for enforcing party loyalty). But how could this be George Fisher's wording? For in a long and confused letter to Lucas Alamán, the powerful Minister of Foreign Relations, and author of the disturbing Article 11 of the Law of April 6, Stephen F. Austin agonizingly explains that George Fisher had taken the original of the letter addressed to the Ayuntamiento of Saltillo *because* this "original" was in Austin's own handwriting, and *because* (in order to help the cause of Guerrero or the Federalists) in this way Fisher had hoped to plant doubts against Austin's loyalty to the Republic![34] But—in this case, Fisher could not possibly have done the wording; Austin had done it, as he here admits, and he now fears Alamán's disapproval. We can see that, whatever the cause, the leaders at San Felipe "had the wind up," and in fear of having given offense to the existing "regime," they hasten to discredit Fisher before he can discredit them.

The apprehensive officials did not yet know of a letter which Fisher had written on that same day to Terán, informing him of his suspicions that both John Austin, a leading citizen of Brazoria, and James Breedlove, the Mexican Vice-Consul in New Orleans, had interests in the American schooner *True Blue,* aground on Brazos bar with 400 quintals of contraband tobacco. John Austin had threatened Fisher, saying that "if I did not leave this colony,

such and such things would happen to me." Fisher concludes, ". . . in case I should have to remain in this place, giving advices to the Supreme Government of the happenings on this coast, my person, the safety of which I believe much threatened, should be protected."[35]

But before worse could happen Fisher was in Matamoros, in the state of Tamaulipas. The Texans had repulsed the self-important customs collector . . . Or they had unmasked a Federalist spy . . . Or was he a Centralist counter-spy? Their uncertainty as to Fisher's loyalties reflects their own dilemma: how to prove the loyalty of their colony to the Republic, under a Centralist regime with a plan to liquidate the colony and possibly the Constitution of the federal Republic as well. As for the wicked spy: Terán had suspended George Fisher as collector, and could not acknowledge him as secret agent; San Felipe had dismissed him as Secretary; Zavala would not use him as agent in his colony, and Austin had expelled him from his. Fisher was indeed "out"—all the way out of Texas.

One is a bit surprised at how vehement, or even abusive, the calm and mildly tolerant Austin could become in his dislike or fear of George Fisher. One passage in the long letter to Alamán is of interest to us as descendants, as it concerns the Fisher family. Austin begins by showing Fisher as Federalist and Yorkino:

> When this man Fisher arrived here last spring, he . . . tried to fill me with fears as to the intention of the present administration regarding Texas. I told him I was against the unconstitutional methods of Guerrero; but . . . he represented all the members of the present regime (called by him "Escoseses") to be mortal enemies of all settlers in Texas . . . At this point I wrote, on the 18th of May, a letter to the Vice-President.[36]

Austin had written, on May 17 and 18, to President Bustamente, to Terán, and to others, letters protesting the Law of April 6 as unjust, unconstitutional, and ruinous to Texas. Now in October he intimates that he had been too much influenced by the Federalist Fisher.

Then he proceeds to show that Fisher was not even a loyal Federalist:

> Finally some comments were published in the *Gazette* of this town, on June 10, and he suddenly changed . . . his way of thinking. He started arguing in favor of the Jalapa Plan, saying that he had been cheated by Zavala and Poinsett.

Austin himself had written the "comments," explaining to the colonists that the new Centralist regime was not planning, after all, to ruin Texas. Fisher, just suspended by Terán, had been disturbed at the situation of his family in Mississippi:

> At this point he told me, appearing very discouraged, that he was poor, with a family to support, that he wanted to establish himself in this colony, and asked me for a recommendation to the governor of the state. Unfortunately, I do not have a suspicious character, and I proceeded to recommend him . . . and he was given a job, provisionally, as secretary.
>
> I cannot tell in a letter all the bad things this man had planned . . . I think Fisher's objective was to plant doubts in the Government against me, in order to obstruct all action; then he would disturb order and public peace, to help the Guerrero party. This man has learned to knit political nets in a very shrewd school.[36]

But would a truly shrewd man have brought everyone against him? It seems rather that Fisher, after making some initial efforts to influence the colonists toward the Federalist point of view, had been rather desperately trying one expedient after another to find a place for himself in a changed Texas, or Mexico. Actually he and Stephen F. Austin had been doing much the same thing. Themselves "liberal," they feared what the Centralist regime would do to both themselves and their worlds. But they accommodated themselves to it, and in so doing became confused and distrustful and on the defensive. These letters of Austin's, quoted out of context, still make Fisher appear to have been a major threat to the liberty and life of Texas.

Family tradition, based on the childhood memories of his sons, says that Fisher was at home in Mississippi at the end of November,

1830 when Maria Louisa was born. But there seems no time for a visit by then. A letter addressed by Fisher to Godwin Brown Cotten, editor of the *Texas Gazette,* is dated from Matamoros on November 29. But this letter, which complains of an injurious editorial in the *Gazette* of October 23 regarding Fisher's conduct as collector at Galveston (that is, his seizure of the *Canõn* with its contraband), and his behavior as Secretary of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe, is very brief. As it concludes, "The shortness of time does not permit me to answer in full,"[37] we may infer that he was at that point hastening home. He would have reached Mississippi about Christmas, or quite soon after the baby's birth. This November letter appeared with one addressed on February 9, 1831 to the editors of the Matamoros *Advertiser,* asking that they print both. That is, Fisher's two letters together, both in Spanish, form an "Extra," a broadside in two columns, printed February 10, 1831. We suppose that he had just returned to Matamoros from his visit home, discovered that Cotten had never printed his letter of November 29 (and had in January sold the *Gazette*). Now, from Matamoros, Fisher did what he could to resume the defense of his conduct during the autumn before.

Fisher wrote on February 19, 1831 to the Governor of Coahuila-Texas, asking for certified copies of the documents which the members of the Ayuntamiento had taken away from him, and which, as he explains in a formal petition, he needs for use in his defense. We now see that the supposed "theft" had been due in the first place to his usual desire for full and correct documentation in his own behalf. It is true that the *Gazette's* attack upon him had not been printed until October 23, or after his dismissal; but Fisher must have been collecting data for defense from the time the feud began in September. Fisher petitions the Governor:

> George Fisher . . . having finished his defense against the slander published in the Texas Gazette No. 45 of last Oct. 23, as ordered by the constitutional Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, against the good name and reputation of Fisher, has made reference to various decrees passed by the Honorable Congress of Coahuila-Texas, as well as to other governmental orders prepared by the

> Supreme Government in matters bearing upon that defense.

That is, he had written a defense in which he referred by memory to the documents; but he cannot make exact references.

> These have been used as proofs . . . but since he lacks some of the documents mentioned, he begs that Your Excellency be pleased to order that notarized copies be given to him. These he can use as protection, in the manner most fitting . . .[38]

Fisher concludes by asking that this be done for the sake of mercy and justice.

Stephen F. Austin, serving as deputy in the Legislature at Saltillo, and maneuvering through this same governor to obtain empresario rights to the region to the north, already claimed by Sterling C. Robertson, heard rumors that George Fisher was about to publish a book against him. In a letter to his partner Samuel M. Williams on March 12, 1831 Austin shows his perturbation:

> He believes that nothing was wanting but a leader among the settlers to turn them all against me. I fear the main object is to try and create parties in the colony, and by that means ruin us all.

He adds:

> I shall leave Fisher to the colony. If the people there do not think I merit their support, I will submit, for it will convince me that justice, honor, and gratitude have abandoned the earth.[39]

But Fisher, unable to obtain his documentation—apparently the Governor made no reply to him—published no book in his own defense, much less an attack upon Austin.

Instead, in a small broadsheet printed on both sides, with Spanish and English text in parallel columns, Fisher merely made a second and somewhat fuller reply to the charges printed in the *Gazette*. This broadsheet, printed at Victoria, in Tamaulipas, consists of a letter to the editors, dated July 14, 1831; a certificate from General Terán, dated May 3, to the effect that the closing of the customs at Galveston had not been due to any mismanagement by Fisher; and a further note from Fisher stating that he had been

trying to help both the colonists and the Mexican Government when he gave a true picture of affairs in Texas.[40]

All this has been Prologue. We come now to Act I of the tragi-comedy of the "Disturbances at Anahuac," a sort of Boston Teaparty before the War of Independence. To students of this heroic period in Texas, George Fisher, the high-handed collector of customs, is usually presented as a villain, an agent of the despotic system imposed upon true-hearted Texans. It may be permitted to his great grandchildren to amend the statement to read: "He got himself into a false position for a time in Texas; but he too was a Texan."

IV. Disturbances at Anahuac (1831-1832)

By the summer of 1831 General Terán had collected a more or less adequate supply of rather inferior Mexican troops, both infantry and artillery, and had got them distributed to his widely scattered colonial garrisons, both inland and along the Texas coast. Those sent to the vicinity of Galveston were put under the direct command of the rigid and morose Colonel Juan Davis Bradburn, who from his ramshackle "fort" at Anahuac at the mouth of the Trinity would now ruthlessly enforce the regulations administered by the customs officials of the whole area. He had already caused hard feelings in nearby Nacogdoches, and had come into conflict with the Governor of Coahuila-Texas.[41]

In February, 1831 a special land commissioner had arrived on the lower Trinity to issue land titles from the Governor to the scattered settlers who had for a decade squatted outside the limits of any empresario grants. Bradburn arrested the commissioner for violating the Law of April 6, 1830 and annulled the ayuntamiento authorized at Liberty by the Governor. Stephen F. Austin vehemently advised his own colonists to remain calm and to take no part in the quarrel, which seemed to be a conflict in authority between the state and the "Supreme Government." Nevertheless, the settlers along the Brazos stood ready to resist any overt act of Bradburn against themselves, and they expected him, before long, to begin to enforce the contradictory customs regulations "against" them.[42]

In September, 1831 General Terán ordered George Fisher to return to Galveston Bay and to set up a permanent customhouse on Point Bolivar. He would have Lieutenant Juan Pacho as chief clerk and assistant. Lieutenant Juan Iberri Landavaco would be in command of a regular guard; if necessary, he could call on Bradburn for reinforcements. Fisher was also to establish an effective branch near Brazoria to collect duties, and to put a stop to the long-established smuggling up the Brazos. He appointed Francisco Masue y Duclor, a clerk in the customhouse at Matamoros, to be assistant collector there,[43] whenever he should arrive.

Terán took great care with his plans, and sought to prepare for all likely contingencies. Fisher was to order lumber from Florida to build houses at Brazos Bar and on Point Bolivar. Terán wrote both to Austin and to the authorities at Bexar that since the laws still allowed the free importation of "necessities" by the colonists, there was hardly enough else to require the customhouses; nevertheless, he must guard the coast of Texas and prevent traders' bringing in goods intended for sale in the interior. George Fisher's troubles with the Ayuntamiento need not keep him from being a good collector; besides, the Ayuntamiento had acted arbitrarily and illegally. Let the past be forgotten, and let Fisher limit himself to the affairs of his office, without mixing into those of municipalities or individuals. The irregular coastline provided many anchoring places for ships, and the Texans had long held mistaken ideas with regard to customhouses; but there need be no trouble. If any arose, Austin and Williams were to notify both Bradburn and Terán at once.[44]

General Terán even accompanied George Fisher to Galveston Bay in November. He wanted to meet Stephen F. Austin, but Austin had been ill and was still unable to leave San Felipe. On November 24 Terán sailed for Matamoros—or tried to. His schooner ran aground near Anahuac, and Fisher joined him again. Together they halted a vessel coming in loaded with goods and supplies bought in New York. The owner, James Reed, was planning to sell them in the store he and his partner, Colonel James Morgan, owned at Anahuac. Reed refused to pay any duties without an exact appraisal. Apparently Terán estimated a possible

total of one thousand dollars, and Reed agreed to pay it at Anahuac. Terán then sailed. When George Fisher made a detailed appraisal of the goods, his total came to five thousand. Morgan refused to pay such import duties, and Fisher seized and stored the cargo. In the ensuing struggle, Fisher "fled to Bradburn," whom the owners threatened to resist by "arming their Negroes," if necessary. Finally they compromised by paying two thousand dollars to Juan Pacho.[45]

Bradburn, aware that he must stand firm, tightened the whole military occupation, "closing" all the ports of Texas except Galveston. Until buildings could be erected on Point Bolivar, this meant that ships would have to go all the way to Anahuac. Fisher issued an order to that effect, dating it as of November 24, 1831, the day of Terán's departure. Since, because of bad weather, neither Duclor nor Landavaco had ever arrived, the branch customhouse at Brazos bar, or Velasco, had never been put into operation. Fisher now directed the captain of the small guard stationed there to order all vessels bound for Brazoria to turn back and go to the fort at Anahuac to clear with customs. Likewise the Brazoria merchants must go there to bond their goods. Those shipping cotton or other Texas products, or the captains of the ships, must go there to get clearance permits.[46] This situation was expected to be temporary; but since compliance meant a long and impracticable journey of over a hundred miles by land or by water, the order was keenly resented in Brazoria and up the Brazos. Its issuance was attributed to Fisher's desire to retaliate for the insults suffered the previous year in San Felipe. Bradburn's attempt to enforce martial law within ten leagues of the coast was understood to be part of the unresolved conflict over the establishment of the municipality at Liberty.

On December 15 the *Sabine,* loaded with cotton, sailed from Brazoria without a permit. Captain Jerry Brown, with the help of William H. Wharton and the approval of John Austin, officer of the port, refused to get clearance papers from Anahuac. The guard at Velasco fired upon the schooner, but she proceeded. Several other boats also "ran the blockade" within the next few days; at least one of them fired upon the guard, wounding a Mexican soldier.[47] On December 16 the citizens of Brazoria, sup-

ported by many from San Felipe, held a "riotous meeting." They addressed a petition to George Fisher, asking that he rescind his order dated November 24. When Branch T. Archer and George B. McKinstry took it to him at Anahuac, Fisher said that General Terán had given orders and that he could not change them.[46] It was this order, and this refusal to rescind it, that made George Fisher become a hated symbol of Mexico's "tyranny" toward Texas. For the rest of his life he would try to explain that he had no discretionary power in the matter—that he was an officer of the Mexican Government, carrying out specific orders. But it was Fisher's stubborn courage that now caused the outraged colonists to "consider the conduct of the Mexican Government"—Bustamente's regime—in general.

On the day of the *Sabine's* defiance of the guard, Stephen F. Austin was in Brazoria. Hoping as usual to avoid an open clash, he had advised the officer in command of the guard to let the *Sabine* go, without the permit. Considering calmly the excited reports he began to receive in Matamoros, General Terán tried to make a fair and dispassionate decision: the skipper and crew of the *Sabine* were never to return, but the receiver's office should be moved from Velasco up to Brazoria, and Lieut. Juan Pacho be placed in charge. When upon his arrival there, Pacho saw a crowd gathering, he feared more riots. When someone then knocked down his orderly, Pacho fled. The Brazoria office remained vacant, and ships came and went. Soon the *Sabine* returned, against Terán's orders, bringing the two small brass cannon which Stephen F. Austin's cousin Henry Austin had, a few years before, thrown out of his famous steamboat, the *Ariel,* to lighten it enough to clear Galveston Bar. Brazoria was armed!

Meanwhile Austin had written amicably to Terán that with Juan Pacho to go to Brazoria, the "excitement" caused by George Fisher's unreasonable order of November 24 had passed. But now this further "excitement" led Austin in February, 1832 to request Terán to remove Fisher.[48] Terán's reply was an official rebuke for the disturbances and riot, and for Austin's own part in them! The time-lag, as usual, made official correspondence into a game of cross questions and crooked answers. At the same time, Terán wrote to Fisher saying that the order of November 24 had been imprudent,

and cautioning him against unjust or impolitic acts. It is hard to say just what his orders to Fisher and Bradburn had been in November.

But by spring Terán was anxious that there be no uprisings in Texas. Conservative, disillusioned, and not greatly impressed by anyone's excesses of zeal or of indignation, Terán intended to do his full duty to the Republic, to the limit of his inadequate resources. But now the unpredictable Santa Anna was leading a new revolution against the Centralists in the name of "liberalism," and it became part of Terán's duty to put down Santa Anna. Soon he saw how the tides would run.

Back in January the exasperated George Fisher had reported to the Political Chief at Bexar that the merchants of Brazoria were opposing "with armed hand" the enforcements of customs regulations; that a schooner had fired on the guard; that an attempt had been made to assassinate Juan Pacho; that vessels entered and left the port at Brazoria illegally—and that collections had not been sufficient to pay the expenses of buildings, supplies, and administration. When the Political Chief wrote to inquire about these difficulties, the Alcalde or president of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe, having just petitioned for desired reforms, replied that Fisher's reports should be ignored—the greatest harmony existed between colonists and officials.[49] Again, everything was the fault of Fisher.

There was little harmony between the two officials at Anahuac. In April, Fisher was glad to move into the house newly completed on Galveston Island. But by this time he had sent in his resignation to Terán.[50] Fisher was ordered to hand over the customhouse to an assistant and to report to headquarters in Matamoros; he probably left Galveston on June 6, 1832.[51] If so, he could not have witnessed from Galveston Island the next act of the "Disturbances at Anahuac." Whether or not he took any part we do not know; the tale is told in several versions.[52]

Apparently Colonel Bradburn, having with forced labor rebuilt in brick the fort at Anahuac, arrested several prominent colonists for obstructing his military rule. One was Patrick C. Jack, who had organized a military company "for drill." Another was

William B. Travis (destined to die in command at the Alamo). Travis, a lawyer, had undertaken as attorney for the owner to recover two runaway Negro slaves that Bradburn had "harbored" by enlisting them into his detachment of troops. Community feeling was aroused against Bradburn and his "martial law," and the fort was surrounded by determined men from San Felipe, from Brazoria, and elsewhere in the region. They sent John Austin and Henry Smith[52] with perhaps 150 men back to Brazoria to fetch the two brass cannon; then in the name of Santa Anna and "liberalism" they drew up the Turtle Bay Resolutions, and prepared for a siege.

Before the cannon arrived, two things happened which made them unnecessary. First, Colonel Piedras, ordered several weeks before by General Guerra to come over from Nacogdoches, arrived at Anahuac and (somewhat unexpectedly) "pacified the disturbances" by securing the resignation of Bradburn and releasing Travis and Jack to the civil authorities. Bradburn disappeared, and his troops hastened away to join Santa Anna.

Second, on June 26 there occurred the Battle of Velasco. The vessel bearing the cannon from Brazoria was stopped by Ugartechea, the Mexican commander at Fort Velasco, and a sharp battle ensued, with casualties on both sides. The Mexican garrison was forced to surrender when its ammunition was exhausted, and it then withdrew by sea. Even if George Fisher was not in his newly built customhouse on Galveston Island through all this, he no doubt heard about it soon enough—and also that President Bustamente had been overthrown and that Santa Anna was in control. Fisher was probably as glad as anyone else could be that the military dispositions for enforcing the Law of April 6, 1830 upon Texas were now at an end.

When Fisher reached Matamoros that June, the city was being taken over by an old friend of his, the Yorkino-Federalist General José Antonio Mexía. Terán's administration as Commissioner of Colonization, though scarcely begun, was now at an end.[54] Only a few days before, Terán had written to Stephen F. Austin, who was attending a session of the Legislature held at San Antonio de Bexar, "The affairs of Texas are understood by none but you

and me, and we alone are the only ones who can regulate them." But now in Matamoros both Austin and George Fisher rejoiced at the downfall of the Centralist regime; and at the home of a "mutual friend," Maurice Hebenstreit, the two were reconciled,[55] all former bitterness to be forgotten and forgiven in the general amnesty.

Then Austin returned to his happy colony on board General Mexía's ship; for Mexía was going on a tour of inspection to determine whom the Texans were in revolt against. Just before they set sail they heard of the death, on July 3, of General Manuel Mier y Terán. He had fallen upon his sword.

V. Santa Anna, the False "Liberal" (1832-1835)

George Fisher, always fundamentally "liberal" in that he was a Federalist who desired freedom from oppression but order in government, had been in a false position holding office in a Centralist regime and trying to enforce its decrees upon his fellow-Texans. Now it was Stephen F. Austin who got into a position even more false and difficult: he became caught between his own people, many of whom now distrusted his friendship for Mexico, and the Mexican officials who would try to charge the long-suffering Empresario with treason.

Though Austin had always heretofore insisted that Texans take no part in Mexican party politics—they must simply obey the laws of the Republic to which they had sworn allegiance and from which they held their land titles—he now felt such joy at the prospect of a "liberal" regime relieving Texas from the ruinous Law of April 6, 1830 that he mingled credulity and expediency in his acceptance of Santa Anna as leader of the "democratic republican federal party."[56] Welcoming General Mexía at Brazoria, the joyful colonists denounced the late militaristic occupation under Terán, declared anew their loyalty to Mexico, and hoped for independent statehood with self-government in local affairs and their own Texas state capital at San Antonio de Bexar.

On July 2, just before sailing from Matamoros, General Mexía had given George Fisher an appointment as accountant in the customhouse there. But in August Fisher had gone to Mexico City to help "promote the Liberal Cause."[57] A new era had begun,

but it was not one in which the dream of joining loyal Texan Mexicans with liberal Mexican Federalists to create a great Republic of self-governing and self-supporting states would ever come true. Two men who long believed it could were Fisher and Austin. Two others, who worked in very different ways to gain a different sort of future for Texas, were Sam Houston, a newcomer soon to become established in Nacogdoches, and Anthony Butler, an old hand who still came and went between Mexico City and Washington, D. C. by way of Washington County, and who was still "known" to carry five million dollars in his trousers pocket for the purchase of Texas by the United States of the North.

In October, 1832 the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe had called the first Convention to discuss statehood—that is, the separation of Texas from her "twin sister" Coahuila, not as a territory but as a state within the Federation. At the second Convention, held on April 1, 1833, the day of Santa Anna's triumphal inauguration as President of Mexico, Sam Houston was made chairman of the committee for drafting a state constitution, and Stephen F. Austin was delegated to present the case for Texas to the new President. Some Texans, cynical newcomers and disgruntled Old Timers, doubted that Austin would do more than go through the motions of presenting the petition. Mexico, disturbed at the idea of having within her Federation an "alien" state, an advance position for American invasion, would deny the proposal and then Austin would return with his usual plea for patience, fortitude, obedience, and "no disturbances." In fact, Stephen F. Austin was being put to the test; his colony (which except for his patience, fortitude, wisdom, and mystical devotion could not have succeeded at all) was now outgrowing his self-identification with Texas, his painstaking paternalism, as he himself knew. He knew too the uncertainties of his long journey to Mexico City and back, and the precariousness of his own health. He empowered his friend, business partner, deputy-empresario, Samuel M. Williams, to act for him during his absence, and he set off by way of San Antonio to Matamoros.

There he met the new Commandante General Filisola, successor to the tragic Terán. They discussed, among other things, the perennial problem of smuggling, which was, it seemed, even

more scandalous along the Rio Grande than up the Brazos. And there Austin learned that George Fisher was to be sent back soon to reestablish the customs at Galveston. Fisher himself had been informed of this decision some months before—in December, 1832—upon his return to Matamoros from Mexico City. He was told that since his resignation of the preceding spring had never been acted upon by Congress, he must return to his post. In the ensuing correspondence he had agreed to go—as soon as he should be paid for his former service there, and provided his pay be doubled, *and* if he be given a loan for expenses. He was to reopen the custom-house on Galveston Island, and place a branch on the Brazos and one at Nacogdoches; and he was to set forth on March 12, 1833.[58] General Mexía's letter of recommendation stated that Fisher had given important services to the Liberals, and that he had (presumably in Mexico City) defended the inhabitants of Texas from unjust attacks; Fisher was to present this letter to Austin.

He presented it by post. But the presentation was tempestuous, even on paper. Enclosing Mexía's recommendation, Fisher sent a bitter letter which he addressed to Austin in San Felipe, and which he dated from Monclova on April 16, 1833.[59] Monclova had just become the capital of Coahuila-Texas, in place of Saltillo, and Fisher had gone there to report the collections made during his previous attempt to administer the customs at Galveston, and to show the amount of tonnage due the state. He wished to clear his accounts for the past before turning the next page. There could not have been time for Austin to receive it before he left San Felipe; Austin was, in fact, in San Antonio while Fisher was in Monclova, having gone there to secure cooperation in his mission for statehood. Fisher's letter, and then Fisher himself, caught up with Austin in Matamoros; for Austin was there delayed for several weeks during April and May, ill with dysentery.

The communication, with its enclosures, could not have made the Empresario feel any better. In his most vehement English, George Fisher charges that in spite of their supposed reconciliation Austin still persecutes him. His proof is the postscript to a letter which Austin had written in the preceding October to a correspondent in Mexico City, warning him against Fisher—who had at that time been in the capital, conferring at times with Vice-Presi-

dent Farías on Texas, and writing his able and informative *Exposée,* or survey, of the resources, the present needs, and the future possibilities of that great region.[60] Austin's spiteful note had gone the rounds there, and had recently been sent to Fisher by a sardonic friend. Austin had written:

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> I understand from Matamoros that Geo: Fisher has gone to Mexico to slander Tejas. That man does not merit the confidence of the Government nor of anyone. On his first arrival here, he said more to create a bad impression on my mind against Alaman, Fagoaga, Tagle, and others, whom he called Escoceses, than I ever heard from any other source. He has been a Guerrero man, a Zavala man, and an acordada man etc., a Jalapa etc., a Bustamente and other sorts of man; as the case required. I fear he is a bad man. At Matamoros he told me that General Terán was to blame for all the difficulties about the Custom House, that he only obeyed orders. To others he said differently. Such a man can do nothing but harm in this or any other country where he is listened to.

To this enclosure George Fisher appends a note of his own, for the record; he is keeping everything, attested by notary, for his files:

> On my arrival in Tejas, I never mentioned the name of Alaman, Fagoaga and Tagle to Col. Austin as bad men or to create bad impressions, and the last I do not even know . . . I always was and will be a Guerrero man, or of that party, because they are the Democrats of this country.
>
> I never was a Jalapa man nor a Bustamente man, otherwise Gral. Terán would not have applied the 4th Art. of Japala against me, suspending me from my office barely because my appointment was made by Guerrero.

This political suspension still rankles; so does the fact that his subsequent effort to serve Terán with rigid correctness was taken as an outrage against Texas:

> At Matamoros I never told otherwise and never will, but that I acted under the orders of Gral. Terán, and the difficulties arising from the Custom House affairs were

> through Col. Bradburn, Col. Austin, and others who interpreted the law in a different mode, and wanted the people to believe that I had discressionary powers granted to me, and that I was abusing them and only acted by caprice, malice or revenge.

But, continues Fisher, if these charges were brought against him before competent tribunals, it would appear how he *acted to obey orders.* Though he could have done a great deal of harm, had he been malicious and revengeful, he will never do any injury to the "people of Texas."

In his explosive letter to "Col. S. F. Austin," George Fisher begins by saying that he encloses a letter from General Mexía which shows how erroneous an opinion Austin had formed of Fisher's activities in the City of Mexico. The enclosure of Austin's own "Post Scriptum to your letter of 4th Oct. 1832" will let Austin see by the "miraculous way it came to my hand" that no secret will remain forever unrevealed. Fisher then reproaches Austin:

> I think my dear Colonel that I had reason to expect to be treated by you better than you have done, especially when yourself solicited and I acquiesced in the presence of our Mutual friend Dr. Mauricio Hebenstreit in Matamoros, a reconciliation, and burying into oblivion the past reciprocal acts of recrimination, at whose table we dined on said day.
>
> I was expecting and believing that from that moment a new era commenced to exist between us, and that in future a most cordial disposition towards the interest of Texas, and the best understanding between us was to commence. But . . . what must have been my feelings at the receipt of the letter of which . . . I send you a copy? I ask what would have been yours?

Furthermore, Fisher has found that Austin's letter was "directed to Mangino," or to Rafael Mangino of the Treasury Department, and he adds, "With what view and intention? My dear Sir, do not believe that I am of yesterday and that I cannot *guess* at things." That is, it had been Austin's intention to discredit Fisher's expected reports on Texas; his *Exposée* had been presented to that

department, and actually it had set forth many of the ideas held by Austin himself. But Austin could not have known that.

Fisher goes on to charge that in 1830 Austin, by putting him out of his colony, had ruined his happiness and that of his family in Mississippi. To us as descendants of that family the passage is important enough to be quoted in full:

> It is very well known to you, and to you only, that had I been disposed, I could and can yet shake the foundation of your Colony, and your individual welfare. You also know that I had more than sufficient reasons for doing so, for you very well know that you was the Instigator and promotor of all the mobs against me in Tejas. [Otherwise] I should have had no difficulty with no person but lived in perfect peace and quietness in Tejas, with my family.

In 1830 Fisher had reported contraband dealings in tobacco and in Negroes brought from Africa; he had also been concerned with problems of empresario contracts, and how to fulfill them. He had noted conflicts between local government, state government, "Supreme" government; and he had been put out. We too have to "guess at things," to see how Fisher could "shake the foundations" of Austin's colony. But we can at least see that the bitterness of his long frustration is at last being expressed:

> The unjust persecutions put on foot by your associates through your instigation have destroyed that peace, have ruined my interests, have kept me separate 3 years from my family, and their happiness destroyed. My defenseless and abandoned children cry unto heaven for vengeance for such acts of injustice.

Here perhaps we should picture Hiram and George, John and little Maria Louisa, forlorn beside the waters of the Big Black . . . But George Fisher is in deadly earnest:

> I alone, possessed of more than a common share of patience and forbearing, have said nothing to justify myself of the many foul charges alleged against me, and why? Is it because it is not in my power? No, it is because I would not strew firebrands into your colony—

> although you charged me with it in your letter directed to Col. Bradburn from Brasoria on the 24th Dbr. 1832.

We recall that at the time when Fisher returned from a visit to Mississippi and published two brief defenses, he did not make the attack which Austin had feared. George Fisher undoubtedly managed to bring trouble upon himself in Texas; but the fact remains that he never wanted to "destroy" Texas—he wanted to live in it. He now in his anger may be over-stating his own case. But he does appear to have a case, and his claim that he has "power to hurt and will do none" does not make him a blackmailer against an incorruptible Austin. He continues:

> You know very well that you have done me infinite injustice and have ruined my and my families happiness and fortune, and yet when I am ready and willing to forbear and to forgive at your own request in presence of our mutual friend, you are still, after agreeing to it, disposed further to persecute me.—Is this just? is it generous? is it noble? Do you suppose that you can keep me in that way out of Tejas, upon which country I have as much right and claim as you or any other man has or can have? You are mistaken. I never shall give up my claim on Tejas, and not even the assassins dagger will intimidate me to return and live there, in any vocation or under any circumstances.

We do not know that Fisher was in personal danger in Texas;[61] he had in 1830 been threatened, he said, by John Austin and others, and perhaps he expected further trouble upon his return to Galveston.

But as for Austin's fear that he had gone to Mexico City to "slander Tejas," Fisher laughs it to scorn:

> To injure Tejas and to slander the Carackter of the inhabitants, I do not need to go to Mejico it is the last place where I would go to—You ought to know that in Matamoros in 1830 and 31 I had the management of the printing press, which I can get again at any time, should I wish it.—What better medium than this to injure Tejas and slander its habitants? Did I ever say anything in that paper injurious to Tejas? Did I ever

> defend my own cause when I could do it? Why? Because I did not wish to reveal certain things, and persons compromitted. But can I forever forbear new persecutions, and torments? You offered me peace at Matamoros, I accepted, I ran a dense vail over the past; you have broched and opened the half healed wound. Will you quit, or will you continue? Will you have peace or war? You can have either, I leave it to your own choice and discression. You have persecuted me, you have ruined me, you can finish your work, and I will mine with subscribing myself,
>
> George Fisher

In saying that he had as much right to live in Texas as Austin had, Fisher was here voicing what many had come to feel—that Austin thought he alone could admit or exclude would-be Texans. In seeking to get empresario rights in the regions bordering upon his original grants, he was extending his control too far; and in his power to loose or bind, by expressing approval or disapproval of individuals, he was at times unjust. Texas was too large, and its future too great, to be controlled by one man, even for its own good, and the day of the personal "word" of the Empresario was over.

George Fisher and Stephen F. Austin both arrived in Matamoros in May (1833). What reply Austin made to Fisher does not appear except in the swift reversals which ensued. The damaging secrets which Fisher could conceivably have revealed we can guess might have had to do with Austin's knowledge of the slave ships which continued to come in at times, and with his, and Williams's secret negotiations through the state government, now at Monclova, for disputed or questionable land grants. Both had been hinted at in 1830, and both were causing Austin anxiety in 1833 upon the eve of his departure for Mexico City.[62] Now, of all times, he feared "disturbances." All might *yet* be well, however.

Whatever his reasons, Austin sought to make amends for any former injustice to George Fisher. On May 30, 1833 he

writes officially to his Ayuntamiento in San Felipe:

> The General Filisola has orders to re-establish the custom house and the military garrisons, and will proceed to do so, for the purpose of protecting the public revenue, and stopping the scandalous contraband that has been carried on in tobacco from the ports of Texas. I have assured him that he would receive the support of the colonists in sustaining the Revenue Law, and that they would do their full duty faithfully as Mexican citizens . . .

All this would sound quite familiar to the citizens in San Felipe. So would the next paragraph; and how should they know that in his *Exposée* George Fisher had recommended as the first of five improvements in Texas that tobacco be cultivated there, to supply all Mexico? Or that he had suggested the repeal of some revenue laws and the changing of others, so that Texans would no longer have to pay the exorbitant import duties on goods and supplies for their own use, and could develop legitimate trade with the interior? Austin's letter goes on:

> Mr. George Fisher will leave here shortly to enter upon the duties of collector of Galveston, with only a sufficient number of troops for necessary guards . . .

History was repeating itself; and the *Exposée* was filed away in the Treasury Department in Mexico City.

Quite aware of how much the colonists would read between his lines, Austin states with calm impartiality:

> Whatever ideas and opinions may have heretofore existed as to Mr. Fisher, they should now be consigned to oblivion and forgotten. He returns as an officer of the Government, and as such it is the duty of the people to respect and support him.
>
> I will also observe that I have investigated very minutely all the past transactions in which he was concerned, and have formed the opinion that the excitement which unfortunately grew out of them, was produced by misconceptions and suspicions too hastily entertained, and not from any intention to do wrong or to injure anyone.

> I believe there were misconceptions on both sides, and probably as much on one part as on the other.

Austin adds that Fisher's knowledge of English makes him most useful, and pleads for harmony. He was to learn later that his approval of Fisher's return was seized upon as evidence that Austin was already weakly complying with any or all Mexican demands, and that if he ever got to Mexico City his mission would fail. Those who knew him best asked merely who could have gone in his place.

George Fisher did not return after all to an expectant Galveston; possibly it had never been intended that he should. The customhouses remained vacant, and commerce in the Galveston region continued "unimpeded." In July, 1833 when Austin reached Mexico City, Fisher, still in Matamoros, was promoted to the office of Commissary for War for the Eastern Interior States, directly under General Filisola. But in November he was removed from that office. A District Judge, Luis Gonzaga Martinez, demanded without warrant or credentials that Comisario Fisher advance him a quarter's salary; Fisher refused. The judge then discovered that Fisher upon taking office had failed to make bond as required by law.[64] Fisher, disillusioned by now with a career in the Mexican government service under any party, and unwilling, he said, to hold a position which might require him to "enter Texas with an invading army," was not sorry to be retired to "private life."

He promptly established himself as a public interpreter and translator in Matamoros, that somewhat cosmopolitan port at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Soon he had a "General Agency and Commission Business with a Book and Stationery Store, attaching to it a job Printing Office." He became a self-appointed and effective center for news, "intelligence," propaganda. He sent translations from Texas and American newspapers to the Mexican authorities, he corresponded with Texans on possibilities of commercial development, and public improvements; and now, as a private citizen (one still hopeful of living in Texas) he began to urge that Texans, for the sake of their "grand interest," attain union through mutual forbearance, "burying past strifes in eternal oblivion." That is, 1834 was a time for all good men to unite

with the Federalist party. No old Federalist could have been surprised when in May of that year Santa Anna seized power, repudiated the Constitution of 1824, and with the aid of the Army and of various officials, mainly Centralists, became Dictator.[65] George Fisher soon started an opposition newspaper, the *Mercurio* of Matamoros.

How, meantime, had Stephen F. Austin fared in the City of Mexico? When he had reached there in the summer of 1833 he had found his friend Vice-President Valentin Gomez Farías in charge, Santa Anna being still "in the field," putting down sporadic "insurrections." For weeks, indeed for months, he got nowhere with his requests: the separation of Texas from Coahuila as a separate state, repeal of Article 11 banning American immigration, relief from import duties, establishment of regular mail service. That is, Austin was given a very courteous and very lengthy runaround. His dysentery returned; or was it cholera?

In October, 1833 he received a delayed letter from John P. Coles, one of the Old Three Hundred, warning him that his endorsement of George Fisher from Matamoros had been used to convince many that Austin was a "traitor to Texas" and would not try to get the petitions approved. Coles warned that the colonists would set up their own government if the Congress of Mexico did not grant their demands.[66] Austin had always held that such attempts would fail, and that even such threats would bring reprisals. But now, stung, he went into action. Rashly, he expressed his sentiments—or rather, he expressed those of his critics. To the amazed Farías he exclaimed: "Texas must be made a state by the Mexican Government, or she will make herself one!"

Austin then wrote to the Ayuntamiento of San Antonio de Bexar his "imprudent" manifesto: Let the settlements of Texas unite to form their own state government under the Constitution of 1824. Let the people of Bexar form a local government independent of Coahuila, even without the approval of the central power. "Dios y Tejas!" It took a month for the missive to reach Bexar.

In November (just when Fisher had been ousted by the efforts of the district judge), the then still "liberal" Santa Anna had returned victorious to Mexico City. He saw Austin, was very cordial,

graciously lifted the ban on immigration from the United States (Article 11), promised to "consider" the problem of statehood, referred the rest to committee. Austin wrote to San Felipe that all at last was well, or as well as could be expected. In December, 1833 he started home.

He went by way of Saltillo, hoping there to see the new Commandante Martin Perfecto de Cos, who had lately supplanted Filisola. There, in January, 1834 Stephen F. Austin was arrested —under suspicion of attempting to incite insurrection in Texas. Rumors spread: he was guilty of treason; he was trying to get Texas annexed to the United States. More was "known" in plaza and marketplace than could be learned through official circles by Texans or by Austin himself. The timid and distrustful "Old Mexicans" of San Antonio had disavowed and published his "imprudent" proposal; for it was that ayuntamiento which was to have formed the nucleus of the proposed Texas Legislature, and its members found themselves loath to become implicated in the "treason" of this *americano*. Actually, Austin was never charged with treason, or with anything else very definite;[67] but that word was used in conversation and surmise.

The discomfited prisoner, or intentional martyr, as he retraced his way to Mexico City, launched an avalanche of letters announcing his arrest; one was to George Fisher, dated from Monterey on January 15, 1834.[68] Austin cries out that his only "crime" is that of having labored for years with pure intent, to cover the wilderness of Texas with an agricultural and useful population, and to make it a State within the Mexican Republic. He adds:

> The letters I wrote to Texas from Matamoros in your favor caused a great deal of excitement there, in many, against me. If you go there you must be very prudent and accommodating as to Custom House matters. . . .

Fisher (who, we know, never learned the art of making friends by waiving rules he had been instructed to enforce) must, says Austin, try to remove old impressions. As for himself,

> I am getting tired of the whole matter of Colonizing —all work and trouble and no profit or credit; for many of them that are benefitted by me, abuse me. . . .

Since Austin's letters from Mexico were, as he knew, usually

read by government agents and then often made public by recipients, it is hard to determine just how he did feel by now toward Fisher—whom he mistakenly supposed to be still "comisario" in Matamoros, an appointee of the Santa Anna regime. But ever after the letter from Monclova, Austin addressed George Fisher as a trusted friend, and Fisher made no secret of the fact.

Austin spent some eighteen months in various prisons, throughout 1834 and until July, 1835. Santa Anna thus made clear to Texas (that horde of disorderly smugglers) what he thought of its aspirations to statehood. Austin, often in solitary confinement, received little prompt or trustworthy news. He brooded on the ingratitude and indifference of his people—who during that disastrous year were themselves being plagued by violent weather, crop failures, and epidemics of malaria, yellow fever, and cholera. Many of Austin's friends were affected: John Austin and all of his family died of cholera at Brazoria. But Stephen's relatives and old associates remained loyal to him and to his hopes and ideals for Texas. They simply did not know how to help him, had little idea of the true situation in Mexico City, and feared any protest might do him harm.

Many newcomers hardly knew him, and some who did thought he had got himself into trouble and could get himself out; hadn't this Austin always said he was the only one who understood how to deal with Mexican authorities? Sam Houston, back in Nacogdoches after one of his sojourns with the Indians, laughed at how Austin had "broken into prison." Sterling C. Robertson scored some successes, both at San Felipe and at Monclova, in his more or less legal battle to regain title to the socalled Nashville Company colony of which, he claimed, Austin and his partner Williams had defrauded him.[69] He brought some discredit upon them; but soon there would be such conflict between rival legislatures, one meeting at Monclova, and one at Saltillo, that it would be hard to say who was able to discredit whom, or just how.

Against this background of confusion, about which the imprisoned Austin heard rumors, we place a long letter which he wrote on October 15, 1834[70] to George Fisher, still prospering in "private life," and about to start his newspaper in Matamoros.

Apparently Austin still thought of him as holding office as "comisario." The long-imprisoned Empresario was now appealing to his friends to send "representations," or petitions in his behalf, and he thanks Fisher for having sent some to Mexico City. Austin reflects:

> The experience of the last few years has taught me a great deal—I have learned more of mankind and of the human passions than I was ever willing to believe before. My frankness and open, candid, good faith has involved me in many difficulties, and my confidence in Others has entangled me very much, but all this will be useful to me for the future—that is, if I ever get out of this prison, which I hope to do soon.

Two friends have just arrived with "representations" from the ayuntamientos of Texas and from the government of Coahuila-Texas; therefore it will not be necessary for other friends to do the same thing. Austin asks Fisher to write to "my brother-in-law, James F. Perry, care of M. A. Bryan, San Felipe," informing him that "he need not procure any more." He asks Fisher to send a reply by Captain Offutt, then in Matamoros, and to forward the present letter to Perry.

> I have long since informed my friends in Texas that I am satisfied with you, and was your friend—By sending this letter they will have an additional evidence of the terms of friendship on which we stand. I will take this occasion to thank you for the letters and statements you have written to this city in my favor.[71]
>
> The only time to try friendship is when a man is in misfortune and persecuted by a host of powerful enemies as I am—You have interested yourself for me even at the risk of injuring yourself. I wish my family to know this—they will not forget it. For these reasons I wish you to send this letter to my brother-in-law . . . .

Austin concludes:

> My motto has always been *Fidelity to Mexico*—I have never deviated from it—but I have been greatly entangled by others, and by circumstances I could not

> controul. I have suffered much, but a clear and quiet conscience has enabled me to bear it with fortitude.

Though in December he was released on bond, limited to the federal district, it would be almost nine months more before he was to be at liberty to return home—a period spent by George Fisher in energetically putting out Federalist propaganda against Santa Anna.

The "liberal" legislature of 1833-34 at Monclova had passed various measures beneficial to Texas: the use of the English language in public affairs and business transactions, trial by jury within a revised judicial system, schools, roads, post offices . . . . The rival legislature met at Saltillo and annulled Monclova's measures. The Dictator decreed that there be "one body," to meet at Monclova. In 1834-35 its Monclova majority (in order to finance the "liberal" reforms it, and Santa Anna, still seemed to favor) sponsored the sale to individuals of enormous tracts of public land in Texas. In protest, the Saltillo faction withdrew; confusingly enough, the new Commandante General, Martin Perfecto de Cos, although he was the appointee and brother-in-law of Santa Anna, ordered federal troops to disband the Monclova legislature. The struggle was between the states and the central government, with Santa Anna for neither.

Governor Viesca then called for state militia to "reduce Saltillo." Some Texans, blaming Viesca for squandering their public lands, refused him the militia. Others, liking Viesca's plan to move the capital of Coahuila-Texas—or of Texas—to San Antonio de Bexar, and perhaps not averse to making private investments now in public lands, had second thoughts. All viewed with alarm General Cos's readiness to make punitive expeditions; the next would no doubt be into Texas. In truth, Texans remained divided and bitter over the insoluble problem of colonization *vs.* land speculation; they had outgrown the one and did not know how to control the other.[72] A typical sidelight on this period is the way in which Samuel M. Williams, a villain in the Monclova "land-grabs," when proscribed later by the Mexican Government, with a price put on his head, was transformed into something like a hero. Actually, he remained what he had always been: a sound New England business man, and a public-spirited Texan, with a more realistic

sense of the future than either Stephen F. Austin or George Fisher had.

During the three years since the departure from Galveston and Anahuac of Fisher and Bradburn, trade and commerce had been fast increasing. Customs officials might have called some of it contraband, and some of it smuggling, but most of it was legitimate, and ought to have been bringing revenue to the treasuries of both state and nation. General Cos in January, 1835 reestablished the customs by ordering to the long-empty fort at Anahuac young Captain Antonio Tenorio with forty Mexican soldiers as guard. A collector was placed on Galveston Island, and time moved back three years.[73]

Immediately there were "incidents" and practical jokes. The nervous Tenorio requested "reinforcements." His report, subject to the usual time-lag, was duly relayed to Cos in Matamoros. There occurred an "incident"—told afterward in several versions—at Andrew Briscoe's store near the fort. Captain Tenorio placed Briscoe in the calaboose. During a crowded June court week in San Felipe a military courier arrived, bringing a report from Commandante Cos of his deposition and seizure of Governor Viesca, and the suspension of civil government throughout Coahuila-Texas. Some members of the crowd thought they might as well get the rest of the news, and so they went through the courier's bag and read the dispatches being sent from Cos to Tenorio at the fort. One of these stated that "heavy reinforcements" would sail to his relief; another, that troops were on their way from Saltillo to San Antonio.

In the face of Cos's intentions, and with rumors that in other states or provinces there was such growing Federalist opposition to Santa Anna (George Fisher claimed credit later for inspiring much of this), that his army might soon be expected to begin putting it down, the colonists became aware of their need of Stephen F. Austin. The "peace" party suddenly became more apparent than the "war" party. A series of public meetings began, to discuss how to maintain constitutional government with no State, or Governor, under a Republic that had abrogated its own Federal Constitution. Texas was not prepared for war, and it seemed determined to re-

main loyal to the Constitution of 1824 whether Mexico was or not. Then came the news that under a general amnesty Stephen F. Austin had been released and was on his way home. He had been away more than two years.

But meanwhile, in June, William B. Travis had organized an expedition to expel the garrison from the fort at Anahuac and rescue his friend Andrew Briscoe. He and his friends had put a six-pound cannon on the sloop *Ohio,* and with very little trouble had taken the fort: Captain Tenorio had very politely surrendered. He and all forty of his army were Mr. Travis' guests at the Fourth of July barbecue held at Harrisburg. There they heard, without understanding the English words, several speeches declaring that the country was in danger, and must prepare for war. Tenorio, ordered by Cos to withdraw to Bexar, but at a loss how to proceed, lingered several weeks in San Felipe. He then received orders from the great Santa Anna himself to arrest Travis and other members of the "war" party—not only that, but he was also to apprehend Lorenzo de Zavala, who (back from abroad) had "become a Texan," and now planned to live on his holdings at Buffalo Bayou. All these insurrectionists were to be delivered over to General Cos for trial by court martial. At the same time, in the general's headquarters in Matamoros there were orders from the capital for the banishment of Federalist Fisher from the soil of Mexico.

Stephen F. Austin got home on September 1, 1835; the American schooner on which he was a passenger, from New Orleans, fired upon the Mexican revenue ship on patrol off Velasco. Perhaps that should count as the first shot in the Texas Revolution. It was also the final curtain on the "Disturbances at Anahuac."

VI. Mexican Federalists and Lone Star Patriots (1835-1837)

For his years in Matamoros, Fisher himself gives us information, both in his *Memorials* and in the manuscript autobiographical notes in the Lamar Papers. In 1834 he had served briefly as agent for the colonization scheme of John Charles Beales and Dr. James Grant. They were under contract as empresarios to settle 800 European families between the Rio Grande and the Nueces, the Rio Grande and Texas Land Company having been organized in

New York to promote the project—one that ended in disaster for the few families who actually arrived. Fisher says he soon resigned because the "principles upon which the company operated were not congenial." Both Beales and Grant were "land kings," Beales having control of about seventy million acres, mainly in the north, or toward New Mexico.[74]

Fisher had been established in business in Matamoros since 1832. Speaking of himself in the third person, he records that George Fisher through his commission business, job printing, and so on, was able

> not only to gain an honorable and honest, decorous livelyhood, but aided by his many friends acquired by unremitting perseverance, industry, and enterprising disposition, he soon began to rise into notice in his commercial connexions with the interior of the Eastern Internal States, and his Means to augment in proportion to his uninterrupted labours and prudent economy.[75]

That is, he did far better in "private life" during the three years in Matamoros than he ever had as a career employee of the uncertain Mexican Government. No doubt he was still hoping to bring his family to Texas, for as soon as Stephen F. Austin, now Fisher's friend, got out of prison, it should have been possible for the Fisher family to "colonize" either in San Felipe or Nacogdoches.

In November, 1834 Fisher became editor and publisher of his own weekly newspaper "in the Castillian language," the *Mercurio del Puerto de Matamoros.* He acted, he says in his *Memorials,* "in conjunction with the then existing authorities of the . . . states of Tamaulipas and Coahuila-Texas," during the difficulties between them and General Cos, who was "promoting the views of Santa Anna." That is, many Federalist state officials, including Governor Viesca at Saltillo, were opposing "despotism" from the capital, however it might use the mask of false "liberalism."

Fisher's loyal opposition ended abruptly when

> I was exiled from the Mexican Republic—my adopted country in common with the citizens of Coahuila-Texas . . . Previous, however, to my exile, I had so combined all the necessary elements for a revolution, to take place in the northern parts of the Mexican Republic, that had

> my exile not been so precipitated (for the order . . . was transmitted by the War Department in Mexico to General Cos, at Matamoros, by a special express), I should have been enabled with the cooperation of my friends in those States, among whom I had sowed the seeds of revolution by means of the "Mercurio" to bring it to a focus at the latter part of the year 1835, just about the time when Santa Anna was preparing to invade Texas with his innumerable and ruthless host . . . .[76]

Fisher is here writing in 1840, when the long and mainly indecisive Federalist struggle to overthrow Santa Anna and restore the Constitution was culminating in the briefly successful Republic of the Rio Grande. But whether or not his newspaper was very important in the early stages of the movement, what he is pointing out is quite true: what the Mexican Federalists did against Santa Anna in 1835 was exactly parallel to what Texans were doing at the same time. Fisher thinks that if his plans for a Federalist revolution had had time to mature, Texas would never have been invaded.

If we tend to smile at the claim, let us recall that the Mexican Government seemed to think it as necessary to exile Fisher in the late summer of 1835 as to try to arrest Travis and Zavala and the rest at the same time. He and his newspaper were quite important. As he says,

> I was in the month of September, 1835 hurled out of the country—being allowed only six days' time to arrange my business and to adjust and liquidate my accounts, and dispose of my property, which I acquired during a residence of nearly three years in that city. My sacrifices were upwards of $10,000 . . .[76]

Livingston, using this account, emphasizes the injustice and ingratitude of the Mexican government, as well as the speed of ejection.

General Cos probably thought that he had been quite patient with Fisher. When in April the Commandante had rebuked him for writings which disturbed the public peace, Editor Fisher had replied that the public peace of Tamaulipas had already been destroyed by the iniquity of such public officials as Vital Fernandez,

the Governor, and Lojero, Political Chief of the department, tools of Santa Anna, who were making Tamaulipas "subject to the insolence of a tyrant."[77] Cos finally acted against the troublesome editor in Matamoros, the rebellious governor at Saltillo, and the mutinous attackers at Anahuac, all at the same time. In the last instance, to be sure, he was thwarted by the good manners and timidity of Captain Tenorio.

George Fisher's passport had arrived from Mexico City on July 20. He gained some delay by an appeal for his right to a fair trial. But then Acting President Barragon, with tremendous rhetoric, commanded that all orders be carried out. On September 6, just when Stephen F. Austin was about to make his memorable speech at Brazoria, urging the "necessity of a Consultation," George Fisher was ordered to leave Mexico.

Before he could sail from Matamoros he was detained for three days in prison. The Postmaster had brought suit against him for fraud because he had distributed 1500 copies of San Felipe's resolutions against the Centralists, and other inflammatory issues of the *Mercurio,* by irregular means and without the knowledge of Cos or of the Postmaster. Fisher's object had been to encourage a Federalist rising in case an expedition should be sent into Texas.[78] He was fined one thousand dollars. His goods, sold at auction after his departure, brought only nine hundred sixty dollars, which Judge Delgado ordered turned over to "local authorities." "It was," says Livingston, "divided among the postmaster, the collector, and this greedy judge!" Fisher was once more "ruined"; but, he says, he was mainly chagrined over failure to overthrow Santa Anna.

Immediately he turned his intelligence and energy toward the same goal, but from a different direction. Arriving in New Orleans on October 9, 1835, Fisher delivered letters to two important Federalist leaders, already there in exile: General Mexía and Vice-President Farías! More amazing, some of these letters were actually from Vital Fernandez, Governor of Tamaulipas, the deputy-tyrant so lately denounced in the *Mercurio!* Fernandez, now badly treated by General Cos, had switched sides; and by the hand of George Fisher he now requested Mexía and Farías to join him in an insurrection! They were not too deeply impressed. But with Texas at last ready to make a stand for statehood under the Constitution,

and with American sympathy running high, now did seem to be the time to strike at Santa Anna, before he had time to re-conquer all the centers of revolt, or strength to act in many places at once.

On October 15 these Mexican Federalists attended a mass meeting called by Texas sympathizers at Banks' Arcade in New Orleans.[79] William Christy, a well known lawyer, presided; James Ramage acted as secretary. While a committee drafted resolutions, George Fisher was asked to explain to the audience the political situation in Mexico. His speech, printed in the New Orleans *Bee,* October 14, 1835 may be summarized as follows:

> At present there are three political parties in Mexico: that of the clergy and military, which is for a . . . centralized government under a triumvirate—Santa Anna, Bravo, and Alamán; the Liberals, who desire to retain a Federal Republic with the Constitution of 1824; and the Monarchists, who would like to see a scion of the House of Bourbon on the throne of Mexico, and who, as "aristocrats," wish to subjugate Texas and expel all Americans. The Liberals will sustain the Texans, if the Texans will sustain the Constitution of 1824.

Here Fisher states the crux of the situation as it then stood. For years Austin had pledged his Texans to sustain this Constitution, and at present the Liberals, or Federalists, wanted all the states, including Texas, to regain this Constitution.

But, in that case, was American enthusiasm being aroused that night in Banks' Arcade for the Mexican Constitution of 1824? Just what was the "Cause of Texas"? Fisher added:

> If Texas wins, then republicanism and constitutionality will triumph in Mexico; if not, then despotism.
>
> At present, General Cos expects to take San Antonio, being held by the Texans. Before he left Matamoros, he took all the money from the customhouse there; but this supply will soon run out, and he will prove a prey to the daring Texans.

As things turned out, this was a true prophecy: General Cos limped

back to Matamoros at Christmastime. But, unfortunately, Fisher's second prophecy was also true:

> The larger invasion of Texas by Santa Anna has long been contemplated; he had meant to postpone it until the commencement of next year. Now he will come as soon as he can, with a formidable force.

Santa Anna did not reach Texas until early in 1836; but he came as soon as he could, and his force was at first formidable.

Another speaker was Santangelo, editor of the *Correo Atlantico,* a liberal Mexican paper published in New Orleans in the Spanish language. Then amid much enthusiasm the assembly approved the committee's resolutions. Every assistance allowed under the neutrality laws of the United States would be given to Texas, engaged in a struggle for her "rights." Contributions and volunteer enlistments began at the meeting and continued afterward. Within a week, several thousand dollars and more than a hundred well equipped men, some of whom would die next spring at the Alamo, were sent to aid General Stephen S. Austin in the current defense of San Antonio against General Cos' punitive expedition.

Possibly not enough attention was paid that night to Fisher's words to the effect that if Texas won, constitutionality would triumph in Mexico. He is taking it for granted that Texas is to remain in the Republic: she will destroy Santa Anna and deliver Mexico. Most of the volunteers were thinking, rather, of chasing Mexicans and delivering Texas; and some would not have omitted "for land and bounty."

That the Cause of Texas and that of Mexican Federalism were equivalent was not questioned by the committee; for who would yet dare speak in public of Secession, or of Independence for Texas? Mr. Christy and the rest assisted in the parallel plan designed by General Mexía and his military aide and secretary, Lieutenant Colonel George Fisher, to equip a small naval expedition to attack the port of Tampico. Supported by Federalists in the interior of Tamaulipas, who would stir up insurrections, the expedition would prevent Santa Anna from sending his army on into Texas! Before we laugh at this, we should consider the great efficacy of guerrilla fighting when it is skillfully used. The plan

in itself was not ridiculous. But it was hastily improvised, and though there were several reputable officers, the men who were persuaded to go as volunteers on board the schooner *Mary Jane* before she sailed from New Orleans on November 6 were not Federalist partisans; many probably did not know just where they were going, or why. Christy and Ramage had informed the Council of Ayuntamientos of Texas—for the Provisional Government had not yet been formed—that this small naval force of about one hundred fifty men would sail immediately. The whole point was to divert Santa Anna before he could advance; the Tampico Expedition was, in a way, a substitute for the Federalist revolution which Fisher had hoped to launch in the north. Fisher himself wrote the communication to Austin, who was now in command at Bexar.

On November 5, 1835 Austin wrote to the newly formed Consultation to give every encouragement to this unexpected aid. But he favored descent upon Matamoros, not Tampico. If General Mexía controlled that port, he could cut off all supplies to be sent from Mexico to either Cos or Santa Anna. "There is no way in which funds or men could be employed to so much advantage to Texas." Mexía, who was financing the expedition out of his own pocket, with perhaps some small help from Fisher and others,[80] favored Tampico. He had, he thought, arranged for cooperation from "liberal" Federalists there, and he was less sure of the situation at Matamoros. But if the attack failed at Tampico, they could then approach Matamoros, where Governor Vital Fernandez would (they hoped) stand ready to join them. Since Mexía was a man of integrity and an officer of experience, he should have known what he was about. His expedition may have failed because it was poorly planned; but it also had some bad luck.

Mexía had sent two members ahead to alert his friends in Tampico and to win over both the garrison in the fort at the harbor bar and the crew of the tug that would take the *Mary Jane* in tow. The hopeful General and his efficient Secretary, with their miscellaneous force, arrived at Tampico harbor on November 14. Doubtful about their arrangements, they waited for dark—and both tug and schooner ran aground on the bar. At 2:00 A.M. the invaders waded ashore, and found the garrison expecting them.

But the General could not lead his combined forces on to take the town until his own shivering men had dried out, cleaned their muskets, and got fresh ammunition. Late in the afternoon they were joined by fifty additional sympathizers, and began their march.

By then the defending "regulars" had been warned; under Captain Gomez they easily repelled Mexía's invasion. Mexía, back at the fort, sent urgent requests for aid, supplies, ammunition, but got no response from his friends in the interior. After ten days, he chartered the American schooner *Halcyon* for two thousand dollars and set off for the mouth of the Brazos. Of his men, many had been wounded, eight killed, twenty taken prisoner. It was the fate of these prisoners that was to raise American public opinion against Mexía.[81]

By this time the Texans had set up the Provisional Government, elected Henry Smith as Governor, and Sam Houston as Commander-in-Chief of a virtually non-existent army. General Austin's waning conviction that Texas was still struggling for statehood within the Mexican Federation was being shared by fewer and fewer Texans. And now there was nothing to prevent Santa Anna from using both Matamoros and Tampico to supply his invasion for the subjugation and punishment of Texas. Of the Tampico Expedition, Professor Eugene C. Barker wrote: "Its success would have changed the course of the war, and perhaps averted the Declaration of Independence." But—it had failed.[82]

George Fisher was committed to the cause of the Federalists, and especially to his association with General Mexía. Mexía offered to aid the Texans by going to San Antonio as an ally, and he let his men transfer from his command; but he himself could not, he decided, become a Texan as had Zavala. Though the Declaration of Independence was not actually signed and engrossed at Washington-on-the-Brazos until March, 1836, when Santa Anna had at last arrived and was giving "no quarter" to Travis and his Immortals at the Alamo, the truth had been clear by December: Texans were for Texas, not for Mexican Constitutionalism. A report in the Journal of Proceedings of the General Council for December 17 states:

> General Mexía . . . has declined to go to Bexar to join

> with our people. . . . Mr. Fisher, who is acting Secretary to the General, stated that the General could not place his military character at stake by accepting a command under the Provisional Government of Texas, as Mr. Viesca is not Governor.

Explaining his position in a dignified letter to Governor Henry Smith, who "had no use for Mexicans" and scant courtesy for the General, Mexía expressed regret that his services as Federalist ally were not "desired or necessary" in Texas. He and Secretary Fisher remained at Quintana until the end of December, and then went back to New Orleans. The General Council proceeded to impeach Governor Smith, who continued to disregard it—but that, of course, is another story.

We do not know quite how George Fisher spent the eventful spring of 1836; the only "documentation" seems to be an acknowledgement of a donation of fifty dollars which he made to the Federalist cause, at a meeting on April 16. This appears to indicate that he was in New Orleans; but he does not seem to have gone home to Mississippi. He was employed by Koppenburg, Bleeker and Co., a commission house, and he may have tried to keep in touch with various centers of Federalist activity in Mexico. Meanwhile Santa Anna and his "host" advanced eastward from San Antonio, and Sam Houston and his disorganized Texans retreated before them across the wide open spaces, while the women and children and old folks fled as they might along road and trail and across flooded rivers in the "Runaway Scrape." San Felipe and most of the other little towns in Austin's colony were burned. Then in April there came to New Orleans the amazing news of the victory at the San Jacinto, the capture of Santa Anna, the fact that Texas had won Independence from Mexico.

General Mexía formed a plan whereby the Mexican prisoners taken in that battle, and now crowded upon Galveston Island, could be sent to Mexico—that is, be handed over to Federalists for use in their scattered but continuing efforts. The other New Orleans exiles approved the idea and in May, 1836 George Fisher was sent to Texas to see if it could be carried out, Mexía having written to President Burnet and to Vice-President Zavala of the *ad interim* government on the project. One cannot resist the ob-

servation: What a remarkable situation, and what a unique opportunity for "special correspondent" George Fisher, keenly alive to all its dramatic values! What a pity that he could not have been sent to write up the great story for a great (modern) news agency! Here, as often, one feels that Fisher's talents as journalist and publicity man were wasted because the time was not yet ripe. Fisher soon saw that Mexía's plan could not work; but he also saw a new Texas coming into being, in the cold wind.

For though it was May 25 when he arrived on the schooner *Ocean* in Galveston Bay, an unseasonable "norther" was blowing. On the vessel were 230 volunteers, under General Thomas Jefferson Green, coming to aid the Cause. Fisher writes this to Mexía, and goes on to say that Santa Anna, Almonte, and Adrian Woll are in prison at Velasco, while the Mexican army is still retreating toward the Rio Grande, followed by some 2000 Texans. While the *Ocean* anchored to take on firewood, Fisher went ashore on Galveston Island and visited the prisoner of war camp there. What encounters!—if one took time to recall the past. For the commandante of the Island was Colonel James Morgan—he who had once upon a time defied both Colonel Bradburn and Collector Fisher in a matter of payment of import duties. In the camp enclosure were, Fisher reported, some 347 prisoners—the forty-seven being officers. Fisher talked with a number of these. General Cos, he reports to General Mexía, is "almost crazy."[83]

On May 26 George Fisher went with Samuel M. Williams—both of whom had served betimes as secretaries to the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe—on board the *Independence,* flagship of Commodore Charles E. Hawkins in command of the Texas Navy. Hawkins had been on the Tampico Expedition; he gave Fisher a subscription to the *Correo Atlantico,* and he wished success to General Mexía in his current undertakings. On May 28, Fisher went out again to Galveston Island to interview prisoners.[83] He sends lists of officers who are now in captivity, and of those who have died. He furthermore informs Mexía that two treaties have been signed, on May 14, by Santa Anna and the Texas Government—one a secret one providing that Santa Anna be returned free to Mexico to insure the Independence of Texas with the Rio Grande as boundary; but there is, he says, much opposition to the release of Santa Anna.

Then on June 9 George Fisher wrote to General Mexía his own long delayed Declaration of Independence; he must sever his ties with the Federalists, and join the Texans.[83] Though Texans are divided, and there is much discord, it is necessary for all to sustain the government of Texas, "to avoid anarchy and the resultant evils."

> The interest which I have always taken in the prosperity of Texas and whose principles I always will sustain impose on me the duty of cooperating for the maintenance of order and upholding the Texas Government on account of its being a country which must be the future home of me and my children.

Fisher must have revived his hopes of gaining title to land in the old Zavala claim near Nacogdoches. Zavala himself, having served for a time in the *ad interim* Government of Texas, now planned to retire to his ranch on the San Jacinto, "renouncing his past." Using Colonel Morgan as agent, Zavala had in 1834-35, through a New York company, engaged in real estate developments on an enormous scale in the Harrisburg and Liberty Municipalities. But the status of the old and unfulfilled empresario grants was vague. Two things were clear: it was useless to negotiate between Mexican Federalists and Texans, and Fisher was a Texan. During his absence, a U. S. grand jury in New Orleans had found an indictment for filibustering against General Mexía.

George Fisher was being awaited in New Orleans by his eldest son, Hiram Fisher, then fifteen years old, who was working for the wholesale and commission house, Koppenburg, Bleeker. The boy wrote this letter to his mother at "Twin Halls" in Claiborne County:[84]

> New Orleans, June 14, 1836
>
> Honored Mother:
>
> I have been very unwell since I wrote you before. I have had the measles though I am getting about again. These few lines will find you all well I hope as I seen Mr. Martin last week and he told me that you were all well when he left.
>
> We received a letter from Father last week and he was well and I expect him home shortly and then I am coming

up home as I cannot leave here till he comes.

We are all doing very well at present we have plenty of sugar, coffee & segars on hand and some corn and if you stand in need of corn or bacon write me and you can have for it is cheaper to by it here than there corn is three and four bits a bushel and bacon is worth 10 cents pound if you want anything write me. Flour is worth five dollars to six we have shiped about two thousand five hundred keg lard to Havanna we have had since I have been here about three or four thousand sacks of coffee and about 1000 barrels sugar and a great quantity of wine—write me what corn and flour and bacon is worth as quick as you can you must bye nothing up there for you can get it a great deal cheaper here. There has been no yellow fever here yet as I have hern of—

Give my love to all the children white and my respects to all the blacks big and little. And to Aunt Louisa and Uncle James and his wife. Tell all the neighbors howdy for me. Tell Gideon Alford I wish that I had taken his advice.

I remain your Most Affectionate Son

Hiram Fisher

This letter is in itself evidence of how closely George Fisher had resumed touch with his family, if he had ever lost it. The fact that other family letters no longer exist does not prove that none were written throughout Fisher's Mexican years.

That he was back in New Orleans before July is shown by other letters. One of July 7 to Stephen F. Austin pleads for financial support from the Republic of Texas for the Spanish-language paper, the *Correo Atlantico,* which Fisher is now helping Santangelo to publish.[85] Fisher expects Austin to be elected President of Texas in September, and hopes that Austin will then appoint him Texan consul in New Orleans. At the same time he is planning

to move his family to Texas. Several letters are of interest:

New Orleans 4 August 1836

Genl S. F. Austin
Texas

Dr Sir:

This will be handed to you by our mutual friend Mr. Maurice Hebenstreit who is going to your country . . . and will inform you upon various points . . . .

In a few days I am going to Louisville & Cincinnati on business, and come back by land via Lexington, Nashville, Natchez &c and will on my travels have your country present.

I will also visit my past, and my family's present, residence in the neighborhood of Vicksburg, and make arrangements toward moving them into Texas next fall.— I expect to plant a little colony of ten families in Zavala's grant, among the family connexions.

Since nobody had yet determined the legal status of unfulfilled agreements made with the Mexican government, this letter may have been a trial balloon; Fisher wanted Austin to express an opinion. The volunteers who had fought for the Cause, and others who arrived too late, all now expected the Congress of the Republic to give them their promised rewards in land. The claims of Old Timers with lapsed empresario grants would seem to be as good as any others, and besides Fisher considered himself one who had aided the Cause. He goes on:

I have a Brother-in-law at present County Surveyor in Mississippi, and Depy. of the U. S., also Clerk of the District Court of Claiborne County, a man of considerable respectability and popularity in that part of the State, whom I wish to influence to go to Texas (he is well known by Capt. Briscoe of the Texian Army) and would wish to place him into some situation as soon as the Law Office and the Surveyor General's Office is created and organized. His name is William Davis, residing at Port Gibson, Miss.

> I wish you to bear him in mind in proper season, and let me know what encouragement may be for him, in these offices; he is an accomplished Gentleman, and has considerable Knowledge in Jurisprudence & politics; but he is no man to push himself into anyones way, because he is pretty well of, and is fond of quiet living.

As for George Fisher himself:

> I am also anxious to know whether there is any prospect of making a contract with your governt. for supplies for the army and navy? on what conditions, and guarantees, and terms?
>
> Should you consider my personal services necessary in Texas, for the cause of Liberty and Independence, you can say so, and if you wish me to contribute with them let me know it—in what capacity, where, and for what term? In case I should go, I would carry some resources with me, upon which particulars Mr. Hebenstreit will communicate with you. . . .

Fisher adds that he is convinced that Austin will be elected President, and that he himself hopes he can continue to serve the Cause of Texas. He gives the latest news from Mexico: the Federalist efforts continue in many parts of the country; the troops which retreated from Texas are reduced to misery in Matamoros, "many sick and dying of hunger and venereal," while others refuse to enter Texas; Urrea and Vital Fernandez are "going to pronounce for 1824." All this was written in August, 1836.[86]

To this, and to other letters of George Fisher's in the summer and autumn of this year, Stephen F. Austin made no reply. We now know, though Fisher then did not, that Austin was weary and worn out in body and mind, and that his death was not far away. After his defeat by Sam Houston in the presidential election, and during the brief period when he served as Houston's Secretary of State, Austin withstood cruel charges of dishonest land speculations, of having been opposed to Independence for Texas, of having evaded his military responsibilities. The very bitterness of the attacks made many Texans renew their loyalty to him as the "founder" of Texas, and today his memory is revered, his dedication of

himself to an ideal Texas fully recognized and appreciated. But in the fall of 1836, as he grieved over his broken friendship with Samuel M. Williams and pondered his own poverty and the "bankruptcy" of the new Republic,[87] Austin was in no mood to respond to the importunities of the indestructibly robust George Fisher either in his own behalf or in that of the *Correo Atlantico.* The various letters still extant of the two odd protagonists give us a "dramatic reversal" if we compare them with those of the corresponding autumn months of 1830 when Fisher was "ruined" and thrust out of San Felipe by Austin and his associates in the Ayuntamiento.

Now, six years later, though Fisher had been "ruined" again by being "hurled out" of Mexico, and though his efforts at continued liaison between his Federalists and Austin's Lone Star patriots had just failed, Fisher is still so vigorous, so busy with his present and so hopeful of his future in the Republic, that he wastes no ink and no tears on the past. His most pressing problem, during August—for he did not leave immediately for Cincinnati—is the financing of the *Correo,* "which costs $33 a week to print, besides carriers, packing, and postage." Santangelo gets no pay, and has, in fact, been publishing at his own expense. Fisher has reimbursed him with $520—of this, $200 came from Samuel M. Williams, $100 from Mexican friends, the rest from Fisher. The purpose of the *Correo's* propaganda is to "precipitate the moral and physical revolution of Mexico, diverting its attention from further attacks upon Texas."

But Austin sent no aid; Mexican Federalists had been no help to Texas, and he, unlike Fisher, never felt that the eyes of Europe were upon Texas. The paper ceased publication on August 15, for "want of the needful," as Fisher wrote on August 23.[88] Nevertheless, Fisher did not throw away any issues:

> I have forwarded regular files of the *Correo Atlantico* to the "Times" and "Morning Post" of London—"Galignani's Messenger," Paris—"Boershallen Liste" and "Correspondent," Hamburg—and "Algemeine Zeitung," Augsburg—
>
> Thus you may shortly see the European Papers teeming with the Cause of Texas, and deprecating the butcheries

and barbarities of Santa Anna.—It is necessary to enlist the sympathies of the English and French people in favor of Texas, and we are succeeding in it. . . . The troubles and difficulties of Texas are by far not over yet, and it is necessary to call the sympathizing aid of Europe in its favor.

Then he adds:

This afternoon I am going to put on board Steamer *Teche* for Louisville, Cincinnati, &c: and I am

Yours truly,

George Fisher

This pilgrimage up the Mississippi and the Ohio was primarily a business trip undertaken for the firm of Koppenburg, Bleeker. But since as a youth he had, some twenty years before, taken this same route down to seek his fortune in the Natchez Country, it must have been more than merely that; he must have reviewed his life as he retraced his way through "time and the river," and must have tried to peer around the next bends. He could have visited the vineyards at Vevay, in Switzerland County, Indiana, for it was to that beautiful settlement, founded as an experiment in raising grapes for wine-making, that Fisher's brother-in-law Joseph Davis had removed from Claiborne County, Mississippi, in that same year. But in the letter he wrote to Austin upon his return to New Orleans in November George Fisher discusses more immediate concerns; his disappointment and anxiety at Austin's failure to respond to his urgent inquiries are evident:

New Orleans, 18th Novr. 1836

Genl S. F. Austin

Dr Sir:

After an absence of nearly three months from this City, to the Western Country, I arrived here a few days ago, where I expected to meet some of your favors, but to my intire disappointment none reached me. I had written to you several times before my departure. . . . I requested the favor of your interceding . . . for the appointment by your Governt., in my person, of Consul or Commercial

> Agent of the Republic of Texas for this Port. . . . I expected you would write me about this matter. . . .
>
> While at Louisville I ordered some "Address Cards" to be printed with References, of which Copy herewith, in which my House recognized "Texas" as an Independent Nation—the first Commercial House in this Country that has publickly treated Texas as a Nation . . . I have distributed a number of said cards throughout the Western Country.

It is the next passage that is of particular interest to us:

> On my return . . . to the South, I visited my family in the State of Mississippi after an absence of Six Years, and remained about two weeks, my business not permitting a longer delay, in which time I shipped my two Oldest Sons to Louisville on their way to Bardstown College, where I intend them to remain during the academic terms of four years. I have also made arrangements with my family at present consisting of wife and two more children, a son and a daughter, and 10 negroes, to send them to Texas, to the "Zavala Grant," with the other ten families embraced in my contract with Don Lorenzo de Zavala, to comply with its conditions—the whole to be put into movement during the Balance of this Year, under the charge of my Brother-in-law, Wm Davis Esq. at present County Surveyor for the County of Claiborne, State of Mississippi. . . .[89]

Fisher goes on to repeat William Davis' qualifications, and asks Austin to "assist him with your good counsel and inform him of the affairs of his mission, relative to the execution of the Condition of my Contract with Zavala." Apparently Fisher hopes to send his "colony" on to Nacogdoches, while he remains for a time in New Orleans, possibly as Consul. Since the status of old claims was still undeclared, this arrangement would seem to have been a bit risky. The ten families, whoever they were, must have had faith in William Davis, as well as in Texas.

Once more George Fisher requests Austin to write:

> I request the favor of your . . . informing me of the

> dispositions of your Governt. relative to the Grants made to Empresarios, whose contracts are still pending and whose terms have been prorogued, for instance Zavala, McMullen, Powers, Robinson &c; are they to proceed, or not? The unsettled state of this question paralizes very much the Emigration from the Western Country.

Fisher adds, wryly, that on his tour through Kentucky he was often called upon to give information upon the present situation in Texas, but being himself ignorant had to "put on the best face" possible. If only he could hear from his correspondents—McKinney, Andrews, Zavala, and others! He had not yet heard of Zavala's death on November 15.

On December 1, William H. Wharton writes to Austin on Fisher's behalf, recommending him for the consulship in New Orleans, and reminding Austin of how useful the *Correo Atlantico* could be. On the same date Fisher writes to Austin, for the last time, telling him that he is going to Havana on business for a month.[91] Upon his return, or soon after, he must have heard of Austin's death. But already the plan to "colonize" in the Zavala grant was in abeyance. We may venture to make some deductions based upon records of the Claiborne County Probate Court, Port Gibson.

The estate of Reuben Davis, deceased, and that of his son Aden (or Adin) Davis, deceased, the father and the brother of Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher, had come up for settlement in the May (1836) term of court; but in this term it had been ordered that final settlement be made in the September term, and both George Fisher and William Davis made their plans accordingly—William Davis being executor for both his father and his brother. It seemed to Fisher that Secretary of State Austin—whom he and others continued to think of as the great Empresario, authority on all land grants, and "the man to see" on all questions of citizenship—should certainly give him an opinion on the validity of his old Nacogdoches land title. Under the Constitution of the Republic, the Congress of Texas had in September (1836) passed laws which clarified the problem of ownership; in fact, the Republic, under certain conditions, would itself grant colonization contracts.[92] Still,

it was natural enough for Fisher to appeal to Austin, and disconcerting that his "friend" refused to reply at all.

If Austin had given a favorable answer, and if the Probate Court had made a final settlement of Reuben Davis' estate, there is little doubt that William Davis in the autumn of 1836 would have led the ten families to Nacogdoches. He seems to have been winding up his work as Chancery Clerk in Claiborne County, as if preparing for the change. We do not know who the other families would have been, "within the family connexion," but possibly several of the married brothers and sisters of William Davis and of Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher considered the move. They would have made "useful citizens" for Texas.

But the Davis estate was not settled after all, being carried over to the February (1837) term of the Probate Court.[93] George Fisher, hearing nothing from Stephen F. Austin, must have concluded that he was to receive no favors from that quarter; and then he must have heard of Austin's death, just after Christmas. At that point the Fishers decided to buy in "Twin Halls."

Did this mean that George had given up his dream of "colonizing" in Texas? Would he, instead, have continued to work for the commission house in New Orleans? Would he ever have gone back to live the life of a planter in Claiborne County? At all events, the records show that when at long last on May 16, 1837 the estate of Reuben Davis was sold through the court,[93] the only bidders were George and Elizabeth Fisher, who bought "Twin Halls" and the land surrounding it for six thousand dollars. Possibly to him this meant that they now owned valuable property which they could sell at a profit in order to raise money to invest in Texas. Probably to her it meant that her old home was now really her own, and not again to be put to sale. We do not quite know.

We do know that during the summer of 1837 George Fisher departed, to live in Texas, and that his wife Elizabeth refused to go with him. By September he was a citizen of the new town called Houston.

VII. Citizen of Houston, in the Republic of Texas (1837-1841)

In 1837 the new City of Houston was incorporated with a

population of 1200; it served as capital of the Republic until Austin was founded, two years later. Houston was blocked out on Buffalo Bayou by the Allen brothers on land that had belonged to John Austin of Brazoria. Many know the tale of how A. C. Allen mapped it out on the crown of his stovepipe hat, and then with his knife blazed out its main thoroughfare. It was a good place in which to make a fresh start; no one need be an empresario, or a colonist.

In the *Telegraph and Texas Register* (itself newly come to town) George Fisher on September 23, 1837 advertised for sale "an Assortment of Groceries, Wines & Liquors, Provisions, Dry Goods and Ready Made Clothing," which he had imported from New Orleans. On November 1 he wrote to General Mexía, who was still with the exiles in New Orleans, outlining a rather fantastic plan for the Federalist conquest of Mexico; but at the same time he urged Mexía to abandon the illusions of Mexican Liberty, become a citizen of Texas, and then try to become a diplomatic representative. Fisher's letter was to be delivered to Mexía by the hand of Col. Juan N. Seguin, just in from San Antonio.[94]

On March 22, 1838 George Fisher appeared before the Board of Land Commissioners in Harrisburg County and secured a certificate entitling him, as an emigrant who had come to Texas prior to the Declaration of Independence, to one-third of a League of land upon payment of a sum of money.[95] In April he formed a company of commission merchants—Fisher, Davis, and Lubbock; in July it became George Fisher and Co., and so continued for a year or more.[96]

On January 9, 1839 Fisher petitioned for a divorce. He stated that he had been separated from his wife for thirteen years (that is, from the time he first went to Mexico), and that there was no possibility of their ever living together again. His own "property, feelings, and fortunes" were identified with Texas, where he intended to "remain during life," while Elizabeth Fisher "is a citizen of the United States and refuses to come to Texas and live with your petitioner, or even correspond with him." The Texas Congress granted the divorce on January 23, President Lamar approving the decree.[97]

Fisher's advertisements as a commission merchant cease, but those as land agent or real estate dealer begin. Also his political and public life can be traced through both newspapers and town and county records. In 1839 he was almost elected Mayor of Houston. In the first city election, in July, he ran third among six candidates. In the second election he came in first in a field of four. But both these elections were declared illegal because of various "irregularities." In the third election, with only two candidates, Fisher was defeated by a small majority.[98] A war had been waged in the newspapers. Against him, his opponents had brought up the old stories of his bad conduct as Secretary to the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe, and as Collector at Galveston, as well as the fact of his services to the Mexican Federalists. Fisher challenged investigation; he would secure documentation to prove the falsity of these charges; and what was wrong with being a Federalist? Out of his need for justification came both the manuscript "Biographical Sketches" and the printed *Memorials.*

In August of 1839 he was appointed Justice of the Peace in Harris County. In November, the Grand Lodge of Texas met in Austin; a Masonic Lodge was chartered there, and George Fisher (who had in 1838 become Worshipful Master of Temple Lodge No. 4 in Houston) installed its new members.[99] Also in this autumn he presented to the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Fourth Congress a "Memorial" in behalf of those who had taken part in the Tampico Expedition of 1835. Since General Mexía had, only in the preceding January, led another expedition to take Tampico for the Federalists, and had then on May 3 been executed by a Bustamente firing squad, Fisher was doing more than revive past history; he was bringing up the again current question of the relation between Texas and the Federalist opposition to Santa Anna—and it was still a "sore" one.

In September he put a request in the Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register,* for all survivors of the 1835 Tampico Expedition to report to him, giving name, rank and commanding officer. In November he presented his "Memorial," based on documents he had compiled from the originals on file in the Texas State Department and from the records of the Provisional Government. This was referred on December 9 to a Committee of Seven, Sam

Houston as chairman. Fisher appeared before this group to make "explanatory remarks." On January 10, 1840 the committee reported that the "petition praying for relief" was "not without merit," but that it was "inexpedient *at this time* to take further action thereon." At that moment Antonio Canales, in command of the Federal forces in Tamaulipas, was declaring the Republic of Rio Grande—and including within it a slice of West Texas.

Fisher then for presentation to the Fifth Congress had the whole thing printed as a neat pamphlet, quoting all documents, and the letters exchanged with Stephen F. Austin. He prefaced the records with his "explanatory remarks," which trace his own opposition (through his *Mercurio* in Matamoros) to the usurpation of power by Santa Anna, and he published the roster of all who took part in the expedition.[100] His purpose was to show that the struggle of the Federalists of Mexico was, until Texas finally made her Declaration of Independence in March, 1836, identical with that of the Provisional Government: both had sought to restore the Federal Constitution of 1824 and to make Texas a state under it. Most of the American volunteers who came in 1835 to fight for the Cause of Texas expected rewards in land and bounty, and many were still actively presenting claims to the Congress of Texas. Why should not those who took part in the naval expedition to Tampico do the same?

Fisher's logical argument and his carefully arranged documentation preserve a chapter in the history of Texas not fully recorded elsewhere. It stands too as our main evidence, as it was to be Livingston's, for the biography of George Fisher in the two bewildering years, 1835-36. But the Fifth Congress granted no "relief."

Fisher himself went to San Antonio in February, 1840. There he, possibly with Seguin, who resigned his seat in the Senate of Texas to lead Texas volunteers into Mexico to aid Canales, heard the news: the Republic of Rio Grande had been set up, with Cardenas as President; he had been inaugurated in Nuevo Leon, at Guerrero. But Fisher, who rushed back to Houston and got the story into the *Morning Star* as "Latest News From West,"[101] warned of the danger of an invasion of Texas. Throughout March and

April Fisher was in correspondence with various leaders, including José Antonio Navarro. In the Austin *City Gazette,* May 13, 1840, Fisher published a letter from President Cardenas to Navarro; Navarro's reply, declining to serve as agent for the new republic; Navarro's letter to Fisher; and Fisher's reply—saying that much as he desired Independence for the Republic of Rio Grande, he held it necessary that the republic proclaim its principles, and establish a proper boundary line with Texas.[102]

In the meantime, Canales had in March been defeated in Coahuila by the Centralist Arista, and had then in April come to Austin and to Houston, appealing for aid. A number of Texan volunteers had joined his miscellaneous forces at San Patricio by June. Some were defeated by Vasquez, the Centralist leader at Saltillo; and in November, 1840 Canales capitulated at Camargo to Arista. The Republic of Rio Grande was at an end. All this is mentioned here because this was, in a sense, the culmination of the Federalist effort which Fisher felt he had helped to start "in the North" in 1834, and which Mexía and the other exiles in New Orleans had hoped and worked for ever since 1836. Though in his Tampico *Memorials* he had just publicly recalled that the Texas Revolution had begun as a part of the Federalist one, it was Fisher who now saw, before some others did, that the new Republic of Rio Grande was "dubious." Seguin, when he found that Canales' "liberals" were as determined to reconquer Texas as Santa Anna was, a little later brought back the same warning.

On January 27 of this same year George Fisher had been licensed to practice law in Texas,[103] and on July 29, 1840 the *Telegraph* . . . carried over his name this remarkable notice:

General Agency

For Foreign and Domestic Law
Office Next Door to Post Office, Houston

The undersigned has made arrangements in the United States, England, France, Germany, and Mexico for attending to claims of every kind, and to the settlement of the estates of deceased soldiers and others.

All kinds of documents, public or private, made out in original, in the English, French, Spanish, German, Rus-

> sian, and Italian languages, or translated from either of them into any one required.
>
> Old settlers will find the services of the undersigned useful in completing their land titles, in cases where any of the formalities of the Mexican laws are wanting . . . .
>
> New settlers and land speculators can avail themselves of his services by having examined the Spanish titles to Texas lands, and consulting him in relation to the genuineness and validity of the same . . . Conveyancing of every description executed.

And it was just a few days before this that George Fisher married his second wife. All that we know of her is contained in this notice printed in the Houston *Morning Star* of July 25, 1840:

> Married—At Galveston, at the house of Mad. Newlands, on the 20th inst. by Judge Johnson, George Fisher Esq., to Mrs. M. C. Page, late of New Orleans.
>
> We take pleasure in acknowledging the champaign on this occasion, and we assure this happy couple that wishes for an eternal honeymoon were drank again and again in flowing bumpers.

Since nothing further is recorded of the marriage, we can only suppose that the honeymoon was little more "eternal" than the "champaign." There is no evidence of a divorce; we can only suppose that she, like many another in those days, died of "fever," or some "mischance."

In the October term of court Fisher was faced with three suits for debt . . . and it was on October 27 that he wrote, from Galveston, to Henry Smith, now the Representative from Brazoria, to request:

> Should Congress pass any Laws relative to our Relations with Mexico or the Federals on the Rio Grande, and the Executive be authorized to appoint an Agent . . . or a Mission to Spain, please place my name . . . for nomination . . . I need an excitement under my present oppressed state of mind which can only be had by traveling.

He would be glad to go to California . . . or to Santa Fé[104] . . . Since the sorrow seems to be a personal and private one, unrelated to the many more public "excitements" he had undergone of late, and since he writes from Galveston (where he had been married), the death of his wife is suggested.

But on December 8 the Masonic Grand Lodge held its Grand Convocation in Austin, now the capital of the Republic, and he no doubt found his spirits raised. Grand Master Branch T. Archer handed over his office *pro tem.* to Anson Jones. On the following Sunday, Congressman Samuel M. Williams of Galveston became Grand Master, and Grand Secretary George Fisher was re-elected, while Adolphus Sterne of Nacogdoches succeeded Anthony Butler as Senior Grand Warden.[105]

In 1841 Santa Anna again became Dictator in Mexico, and with the Federalist "diversion" out of the way, he was bent upon the reconquest of his "province" of Texas. As yet, his threatenings did not seem too alarming, but at least his refusal to carry out his old obligation to recognize the Independence of Texas was a continuing nuisance. President Lamar went ahead, without Congressional approval, with his plan to send out the Texan Santa Fé Expedition. Its purpose was to open a trade route to New Mexico, and to offer the people of the Santa Fé region an invitation to "join Texas." In March, and again in April, George Fisher applied for a place as interpreter; fortunately for him, since most who did go went to death or captivity, President Lamar did not reply to his requests.[106] It must have been now that Fisher sent him his "Biographical Sketches."

Fisher in 1840, as Justice of the Peace, had become a member of the county court of Harris County. This was part of the Commissioners' Court, having control and supervision of roads, bridges, ferries and so on, and performing other important functions. In April, 1840 he had been made Associate Justice for the County and Probate Courts, and he continued to be active in that office, presiding at meetings in the absence of Chief Justice I. N. Moreland. He served until July 31, 1841.[107] Earlier in that year, though defeated in a city election as City Recorder for Houston, he had then been elected by the City Council for that office on March 18

when the incumbent resigned. He was active as Recorder, and on a number of committees.[108] Also, in 1840-41 he appears as a member of the German Union, as "cornet" in the volunteer corps of Houston Dragoons,[109] as a good man to collect money to buy a fire engine, or to arrange for a loan to the city for "improvements".

That his political support amounted to something is indicated by a letter to Anson Jones of Brazoria from one who, in urging Jones to run for Vice-President, wrote:

> I am authorized to say for Col. George Fisher that anything he can do towards forwarding your election, in a pecuniary point of view, will be done with pleasure (and you know he is not slow). I advise you to come over by all means.[110]

But Fisher seemed not to be bound by any of these ties or obligations. In September, 1841 he sailed for Yucatan on board the schooner of war *San Antonio*. Santa Anna was threatening Texas by land and Yucatan by sea, and George Fisher seemed to want to deal a few token blows against his old enemy. Whether the State Department commissioned him, or whether it merely allowed him to "go for the ride" at his own request, we do not know.

VIII. Interlude in Yucatan (1841-1842)

There was revolt among the "Indians" of Central America, and at the same time the people of Yucatan, encouraged by the success of Texas, were striving to become independent of Mexico. There was thus more than the normal amount of difficulty in the way of anyone who dared travel in that general region in the early 1840's. But it was then that John Lloyd Stephens and his artist-draftsman friend, Frederick Catherwood, had happened to hear of the "lost cities" of the Mayas and set forth to uncover, map, and record them. Stephens got himself appointed by President Van Buren as American chargé d'affaires in Central America, and the two remarkably interesting Americans were soon in the midst of all sorts of alarms and discoveries.[111]

On October 30, 1841 they arrived in Merida, the capital city of Yucatan, and were soon to become aware of the Governor's

perplexities in the imminence of an attack by the "recurrent" Santa Anna. But on November 1

> the Texan schooner of war, [*San Antonio*] arrived at Sisal, bringing a proposition for Yucatan to pay $8000 per month toward the support of the Texan Navy, and for the Texan vessels to remain upon the coast of Yucatan and protect it against invasion by Mexico.

By alliance with the Texans, whom Santa Anna still regarded as the worst of rebels and was exerting every effort to re-conquer, Yucatan, says Stephens, was in danger whether she declared her independence or not.[112]

But it was pleasant to stay in the house of Dona Micaela; and, a few days after their arrival, there was an "unprecedented gathering" there of various American visitors, most of them from the ship *Lucinda,* just in at Sisal. Then the arrival of the schooner of war *San Antonio*—the other two, the *San Bernard* and the *Austin* were to arrive later—

> brought among us a citizen of the world. . . . Mr. George Fisher, as appeared by his various papers of naturalization, was "natural de la ciudad y fortaleza de Belgrada en la provincia de Servia del Imperio Ottomano," or "a native of the city and fortress of Belgrade, in the province of Servia, in the Ottoman Empire."[113]

At once we note a contradiction between this statement and that which Livingston was to make more than ten years later, that George Fisher was born near Budapest, Hungary. The Spanish wording shows that what Stephens saw were Fisher's Mexican naturalization papers of 1829, or later credentials based upon them; passports would no doubt give the same data. Stephens adds:

> His Sclavonic name was Ribar, which in the German language means a Fischer, and at school in Austria it was so translated, from which in the United States it became modified to Fisher.

That is, in a pleasant conversation, amidst a gay and congenial company, Fisher "explained" a name which Stephens glimpsed upon his papers. Or else Stephens, who had himself traveled in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland (and elsewhere), and was

interested in such matters, asked how a native of Belgrade could possibly bear an English name, and Fisher gave him a plausible reply.

The explanation contradicts what he was later to furnish to Livingston on the origin of our family name. Whatever his reasons for having given (in 1829 in Mexico) a Serbian or Slavonic name and birthplace, we can understand that now (in 1841 in Yucatan) during renewed warfare with Mexico, Fisher would have put his papers in order; they had to agree with his old ones in the official Mexican files. Perhaps he carried in his wallet the originals, or certified copies, of the passport, the naturalization papers, and the certificate of Mexican citizenship, which he had presented to General Cos in Matamoros in 1835, demanding a fair trial.[114]

During a number of happy evenings in Merida that November, Fisher and Stephens and Catherwood enjoyed themselves and each other. Stephens summarizes what Fisher told them of his early life. At seventeen, at Belgrade, he tried to help throw off the yoke of the Sultan; and then, having made expeditions along the Danube and the Adriatic, he embarked from Hamburg to Philadelphia in 1815.

> Hence he crossed over to the Ohio River, and in the State of Mississippi, by five years' residence, and abjuring all other allegiances, became a citizen of the United States. Mexico obtained her independence, and he moved on to that country, becoming, by due process of law, a Mexican citizen. Here he established a newspaper, which, during the presidency of Santa Anna, became so conspicuous for its liberal opinions, that one fine morning an officer waited upon him with a paper containing permission for him to leave the country "por el tiempo necessario," which being translated meant, not to return very soon. With this he "sloped" for Texas, and became a citizen of that young republic.

This account omits more than it includes, certainly. But there in Yucatan, on a mission for Texas against Santa Anna, this is the pattern that emerged in conversation. Besides, Fisher had just a short time before presented his account of the Tampico Expedition,

with its preliminary (his banishment on account of his newspaper), and its aftermath (his citizenship in Texas). He had recently given a similar *apologia pro sua vita* to President Lamar.

Stephens comments:

> It was strange in that remote and secluded place to meet one from a region still more distant and even less known, speaking every language in Europe, familiar with every part of it, with the history of every reigning family, the territorial limits of every prince, and at the same time a citizen of so many republics.

(What was the region so "distant" and "less known"? Belgrade? Or Houston, Texas?) Stephens adds that George Fisher's "last allegiance was uppermost; his feelings were all Texan," and

> he gave us many interesting particulars touching the condition and prospects of that country. He was, of course, soon at home in the politics of Yucatan, and he had some little personal interest in watching them closely; for, should Santa Anna regain the ascendancy, the climate would be altogether too warm for him. He had saddle and bridle, sword and pistols—all that he needed except a horse—hanging up in his room, and at a moment's notice he was ready to mount and ride.

That Fisher did mount and ride into the interior of Yucatan on an inspection tour of about a month is indicated by a letter he wrote to the Secretary of State, S. A. Roberts, on November 20, 1841. He hoped to visit Izamal, Valladolid, Bacalar, and perhaps Belize, "to investigate the natural and other advantages offered to the Commerce and Agriculture of this heretofore unknown Country."[115] He would keep the Secretary informed. Stephens and Catherwood left Merida on November 11; but in the meantime their meetings with George Fisher added greatly to their enjoyment. For Fisher, it must have been a rather rare experience to meet people who appreciated him.

Stephens writes, admiringly:

> In the evenings when we had settled the affairs of Yucatan, we made excursions into Illyria or the interior of Turkey. He was as familiar with the little towns in

> those countries as with those in Mexico. His knowledge of persons and places, derived from actual observation, was most extensive. In short, his whole life had been a chapter of incidents and adventures; and these were not yet ended. He had a new field opened to him in Yucatan. We parted from him in Merida, and the next that we heard of him was of his being in a situation quite as strange as any he had ever been in before.

"Yet," concludes Stephens, "there was nothing reckless, restless, or unsettled about him; he was perfectly fixed and methodical in all his notions and modes of action; in Wall-street he would be considered a staid, regular, quiet, middle-aged man, and he was systematic enough in his habits to be head director of the Bank of England."

We wonder what romantic situation this solid man was soon to be discovered in; but we never find out just what Stephens was hinting at. Possibly there was no mystery, and to Stephens the situation seemed mysterious because he himself lacked information. All he will tell us in that in April, 1842 he and Catherwood, now accompanied by Dr. Cabot, the botanist, surgeon, and ornithologist, after making amazing discoveries and undergoing tremendous labors by land and sea, again ran across the trail of George Fisher—this time in connection with the deserted pirate isle of Cozumel.

The casual reader gets the impression that George Fisher was himself established upon the island, but actually he was not, nor does Stephens assert that he was or had been. Stephens and his party had ridden over the stony earth from Vallalodid up to the port of Yalahao on the northern coast, there to embark in a dubious canoa with an equally dubious native crew for Cozumel. They suspected the island to be rich in ruins never noted since the early Spanish explorations. They had heard of a certain Don Vicente Albino who had had a ranch or cotton plantation there, and who had been murdered by mutinous workers.

But soon Don Vicente himself came sailing into the port of Yalahao.[116] He had received merely a machete wound upon the arm; he was glad to give them information about Cozumel. At dinner they plied him with questions, and it may very likely have

been he who gave them the news that George Fisher had "become the purchaser of six leagues" there, and caused a survey to be made, with crosses set up along some eighteen miles of the inner shore. Or it may have been the master of their canoa who told them of George Fisher. It is these crosses that give us a possible clue, one perhaps missed by Stephens' informants. They, and Stephens, may have been wrong about Fisher's making a "purchase." It would indeed be mysterious if he had: why should he, how could he get the money, what became of the investment?

But that he caused a survey to be made is probable enough. In the preceding year young Commodore Edwin W. Moore, placed in command of the Texas Navy by President Lamar, had made a survey of the coast of Texas; his chart was later published by the British Admiralty. Why not a similar survey of certain parts of the coast of Yucatan? After Fisher returned from his inspection of the "interior" he would have been available to superintend such a survey along the coast of Cozumel, located at the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico. Ships could land only around the small bay of San Miguel, long a pirates' harbor and apparently of some strategic importance in naval warfare. That Fisher did go to Cozumel is shown by his letter of April 25, 1842 written from Commodore Moore's flagship, the *Austin,* "off Campeche," to the newly appointed Secretary of State, Anson Jones.[117]

Fisher reports that Lizardi and Co. of London had claimed damages from the government of Texas for "spoliations" committed by two armed vessels of Texas upon the cargo of a British ship wrecked near the coast of Yucatan in 1837. Fisher finds that the spoliations were committed not by the Texan *Brutus* and *Invincible* but by Mexican traders, fishermen and pirates. He recommends that further investigation be made through the customhouses of Sisal and Campeche, but that the Republic of Texas refuse to pay the several thousand dollars demanded. Since President Sam Houston, upon entering his second term on the preceding December 13, had found that President Lamar had left an empty Treasury, the suggestion was probably welcome. Fisher expresses it thus:

> Since I am in this Country, I have made a voyage to the Island of Cozumel for which purpose I had occasion

> to charter a Bungo, and in course of conversation on our voyage, the Captain (owner) of the Bungo remarked that he with other Bungoes (Canoas) went from Sisal to the Alacranes after the wreck of the British schooner and have taken away sundry goods belonging to her cargo, and after entering them at Sisal Custom House they were sold and the proceeds distributed . . . among the . . . Salvours. That the amount of goods thus sold was upward of $13,000 . . .

But Fisher does not reveal to Anson Jones, or to us, why he went to Cozumel, and if Stephens was right in saying that Fisher was planning something that would make Cozumel "known to the commercial world," the mystery still remains.

Stephens, greatly interested and somewhat amused, tells us of Cozumel as the former hiding place of the pirate Molas, and then as the site of the plantation of Don Vicente, who has just had to abandon it. He adds:

> After him came a stranger occupant than either, being no other than our old friend Mr. George Fisher, that "citizen of the world" introduced to the reader in the early part of these pages, who, since our separation in Merida, had consummated the history of his wandering life by becoming the purchaser of six leagues, or eighteen miles, of the island, had visited it himself with surveyors, set up his crosses along the shore, and was about undertaking a grand enterprise, that was to make the lonely island of Cozumel known to the commercial world.[118]

He gives us no further explanation. Instead he goes on to tell how much he and Catherwood and Dr. Cabot enjoyed "taking possession" as they escaped from the cramped and overloaded canoa. We are left to consider the discrepancies, or to ponder the rather improbable possibilities.

We do have a few facts. On May 3, 1842 Fisher writes once more to Secretary Jones: the Texas Navy sailed on April 28 for Galveston; Fisher will start next day from Campeche toward Merida.[119] We know he arrived there on May 16. We know too that on January 10, 1843 the City Council of Houston elected him City Recorder, allowing him one dollar per month for stationery.[120]

But between those two dates are more than seven "lost" months. Well . . . could he have been on Cozumel? What was the "undertaking"?

If the "lost" half-year had been in 1843 instead of 1842, conjecture (at least) would be easy. By May of 1843 President Sam Houston had suspended Commodore Moore for "piracy," by June Moore had control of the Gulf of Mexico, and in July when the fleet finally came in to Galveston, the citizens, indignant that Houston was putting it up to be sold at auction, saved the Navy for Texas by "forcible treatment" of would-be bidders. But the career of Commodore Moore is "another story." George Fisher was with him on the *Austin* in 1842; they were fellow-Masons, and apparently friends. But it is hard to see how Moore would have had any special interest in Cozumel in 1842.

Of course, if this had been 1837, when Fisher (and Colonel Seguin) were outlining for General Mexía the naval conquest of Mexico from both Yucatan and Lower California—Or if it had been ten years later, we would guess at a filibustering expedition to be based on Cozumel. By the 1850's there grew up the vague idea of a great "Southern Republic" to be founded from the "slave" states; it was to take in all the territory around the Gulf of Mexico, and to include Cuba and other islands of the West Indies. But we cannot associate George Fisher with these schemes; and they belong to the later period, when John Quitman was Governor of Mississippi, and Franklin Pierce was President of the United States, and both were involved in such "interests." It would be an engaging idea: George Fisher as collector of customs on a Cozumel set up to regulate the commerce of a Republic, and to keep the British out of Texas! But, no—Cozumel fits into no plan by which Fisher could make it "known to the commercial world."

In the summer and autumn of 1842, however, two odd things did take place: Fisher's friend Seguin, who had resigned as Mayor of San Antonio, went to Mexico, joined General Adrian Woll, and in September helped him to lead a thousand men to take the town, in his "infamous" raid.[121] Early in 1844 Fisher was publishing articles urging that Texas be annexed by the United States, his arguments being based on circumstantial charges that Great Britain

was becoming established in the whole valley of the Rio Grande. Did he spend his "lost months" making observations in that region? As for the second odd occurrence during that 1842 period: it was in that September that the war schooner *San Antonio* disappeared. A mutiny had been planned on board, off the eastern coast of Yucatan back in January, 1842; the crews of both that ship and the *San Bernard* would seize and sell the *San Antonio*. Instead, the mutiny took place a little later, in New Orleans, where the *San Antonio* was sent for refitting, and was put down.[122] Then the ship sailed in September, 1842 from New Orleans for Yucatan—and never arrived anywhere! But we do not suppose George Fisher was awaiting it at Cozumel.

Yet there the island was, and is, just off Yucatan, not far from the western tip of Cuba. Together they form a gateway to the Gulf. Cozumel was difficult of access because of its steep shores and coral reefs, and completely overgrown by thickets which rendered invisible the ruins Stephens knew to be there. He and his party had a hard time finding the inlet, or Don Vicente's ranch, and after two hours of poling the "bungo" they had to leap ashore.

> The situation commanded a view of the sea, and, barely distinguishable, in the distance was the coast of Yucatan. On the bank were large forest trees . . . and orange and cocoanut trees planted by Molas. The place had a sort of piratical aspect. In the hut were doors and green blinds from the cabin of some unlucky vessel; and reeving blocks, tar buckets, halliards, drinking gourds, fragments of rope, fishing nets, and two old hatches on the ground.

Above all, there was a spring of pure and abundant water; the antique well was the work of Mayan builders, dome-shaped, like similar work at Uxmal. Sitting on a hatch, they ate turtle soup.

> With our guns resting against the trees, long beards, and canoa costume, we were as piratical-seeming a trio as ever scuttled a ship. . . . In the afternoon we walked over the clearing, which was covered with a fine plantation of cotton, worth several hundred dollars, with the pods open and blowing away. . . . Toward evening we strolled for a great distance along the shore, picking up

> shells, and at night we had a luxurious swing in our hammocks.[123]

No doubt they walked past George Fisher's crosses set up along the shore. We cannot imagine that Fisher contemplated raising cotton upon Cozumel.

Stephens did see the "citizen of the world" once more—in Merida—where both arrived on the same day, May 16, 1842. Stephens' party had come in from the east by way of Izamal and the ruins at Aké. Entering town in their tattered riding outfits at evening, they were greeted by old friends in "full dress," who gaily welcomed them to tea and "pan françes" and gave them all the bad news: the breakdown of Yucatan's attempt to gain freedom, the forced acceptance of Santa Anna's ultimatum, the failure of Lamar's Santa Fé Expedition, with the death and degradation of many Texans and Americans, the angry determination of Texas and the whole Mississippi Valley to carry the war into Mexico. . . . Stephens felt that his adventures among lost cities were now ended, and he prepared to embark with his miscellaneous impedimenta for Cuba.

But as he and his friends finished their tea, the post-coach from "Campeachy" came rattling into the courtyard of the Casa, and out leaped the passengers. Among them was Mr. Clayton, the circus man:

> He had brought from the United States an entire circus company, with spotted horses, a portable theatre . . . riders, clowns, and monkeys, all complete. He had turned Campeachy upside down . . . and had come to make arrangements . . . in Merida.

But another traveler was of more importance to Stephens: "We greeted with lively satisfaction our old friend Mr. Fisher, that citizen of the world, the last traces of whom we had seen on the desolate island of Cozumel."[124]

IX. Annexation and Afterward (1845-1849)

George Fisher resumed his life in Houston. Possibly we, led by the romantic Stephens, exaggerate the mystery of Cozumel. But it is true that Fisher continued to be a "citizen of the world" in that

he viewed Texas as a pivotal part of the great international complex in which events interlock and causes continually combine. His views were like those of Lamar in this respect, and they went far beyond the fierce squabbles of local politics.

In the light of events in 1843, when the British were working through Charles Elliott, their agreeable chargé d'affaires, to prevent the Annexation of Texas by the United States, George Fisher wrote a "letter" which was published in the "Correspondence" Columns of the *Madisonian,* in Washington, D. C., February 5, 1844. In it he advocates immediate annexation, arguing not from current issues such as the admission of a huge "slave" state, or the precipitation of war between the United States and Mexico, but in terms of European interference in the economic development of North America. He sees Great Britain gaining control of the Southwest, and he states the threatening situation in one long and superbly Ciceronian period:

> The obstinate determination of abolishing slavery in Texas on the part of Great Britain; the alleged claim of the British Government on Texas for lands amounting to several millions of acres, and the design to colonize the same with her emancipated blacks from the West India Islands; the establishment of military colonies on the territory between the rivers Nueces and Grande, supported by her black regiments; and the project of her connecting the coast of her Texas Territory with the Pacific Ocean, via the California and the Oregon Territory, thus putting an effectual barrier to all future intercourse between Mexico and the United States, by a military cordon drawn from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, demand the prompt intervention of the United States—peaceable, if possible, or *armed,* if necessary—to admit Texas into the American confederation, to control the sovereignty of the country to the Rio Grande, and to secure the institution of the United States, now so much menaced.[125]

Fisher asserts that Santa Anna, hating the people of the United States for their aid to the people of Texas in their Revolution, now seeks to "excite a servile war" on the western and south-

western frontiers of the United States. Great Britain is his main support, for if American imports can be kept out of the Southwest, British ones will take their place. Santa Anna has closed the northern customhouses of Mexico, to keep American goods out of New Mexico; he can thus ruin the great trade route from Pittsburgh to Santa Fé!

And why, Fisher inquires, has Great Britain just shipped twenty pieces of field artillery to the Mexican Government? Is it not to keep American trade from going up the Rio Grande? Soon Great Britain will be bringing her own imports in through Tampico and Matamoros. She wants to make her own East Indian possessions more available; she would cut down the production of sugar, rice, cotton, and coffee in the Western Hemisphere by the abolition of slavery on the American continent, in order to substitute British products from Hindostan, China, and India. Britain is working against the United States, through Mexico—and Mexico, in turn, is operating upon Texas.

In presenting such arguments in an important periodical in Washington, George Fisher was influencing public opinion where it would do the most good; for as Sam Houston had observed, Texas could not annex the United States. A few months later, from his "courtesy" seat in the U. S. Senate, ex-President Lamar would be lobbying for Annexation along much the same lines. Lamar, more than anyone else, had had dreams of a Republic of Texas not only independent but (like the lost Republic of the Rio Grande) extending eventually to the Pacific. Now the alternative to Annexation by the United States was recognition by Mexico of Texas' Independence, on condition that Texas never be annexed. But this meant merely that Mexico now had British backing.

George Fisher concludes:

> It does not require the foreknowledge of prophets, that unless Texas is immediately admitted into the American confederacy, and thus, by becoming an integral part of the United States, is placed beyond the cabal of the armed intervention of the crowned heads of Europe, her fate must be settled in an European Congress—as was that of Greece . . . by the Congress of Laybach and

> Verona, in 1821 and '22, and subsequently . . . by the triple-allied treaty of London of 6th July, 1827.

If Texas be admitted *now,* before matters get beyond the control of the United States, the European powers, except Great Britain, will be glad enough to acquiesce. Fisher wrote other similar articles.[126]

The Annexation of Texas was a major issue in the American presidential campaign of 1844. President Tyler proposed it to Congress on the basis that Texas must not become a satellite of Britain, and Polk who favored it, was elected.[127] Texas was admitted to the Union in December, 1845 and there then ensued the expected War with Mexico. Apparently George Fisher took no part in that war, though since 1843 he had been Brigade Major and Inspector of the 2nd Brigade of Texas Militia, and when in January, 1843 Thomas J. Rusk was elected Major General of the Militia, Fisher seems to have been adviser to him.[128]In the Annexation period, however, if not in the subsequent war, Fisher was of service to Texas.

When, in the newly re-invested capital of Austin, the sessions of the Constitutional Convention were transforming the Republic of Texas into the twenty-eighth state of the Union, George Fisher was present—acting as translator and interpreter for the Spanish-speaking delegate from Bexar County—just escaped from his imprisonment after the Santa Fé Expedition—the famous and honored José Antonio Navarro.[129] There too Fisher was asked to make the official translation of the Annexation Ordinance and the State Constitution of Texas into Spanish.[130] His work still stands.

In 1846 Fisher was once more elected City Recorder for Houston, this time at a salary of one hundred dollars a year. But soon he resigned to become Translator and Keeper of the Spanish Records in the General Land Office, in Austin. Since there is clear evidence that he brought order into these difficult and important records, these labors may well be his most lasting service to Texas. His signature appears in them after October 13, 1845 and until 1848.[131]

In his own personal record for 1848 we have two items of considerable interest: on April 13, in Houston, he married Mrs. Mary Caroline Fleming; and in the summer, with Edwin W. Moore,

late Commodore of the late Texas Navy, he went to Washington, D. C. to represent the Grand Lodge of Texas at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument.[132] Did his new wife make the trip with him also? We do not know. Did he and Moore reminisce about Yucatan, or Cozumel? We cannot imagine. Did Fisher make any contacts with his family in Mississippi? If so, it was probably with his oldest son, Hiram, now twenty-seven years old; for in the next year, the great year of Forty-nine, father and son together joined the Gold Rush to California.

The indications are that this marriage, Fisher's third, could not have lasted as a real union much longer than did his second. But records do tell us something of this wife. The wedding ceremony was performed by a bishop of the Episcopal Church.[133] In her will, drawn ten years later, on February 15, 1858 a few months before her death in Houston in May of that year, Mary Caroline Fisher mentions four children—two sons and two daughters.[134] To each she leaves one fourth of her estate. The two sons are named Annermann; that is, she must have been Mrs. Annermann before she was Mrs. Fleming, and the marriage to George Fisher was her third, as it was his. As one daughter, Ann Elizabeth Danforth, formerly of New York, is now deceased, her share is to go to her children. But we are interested in the other daughter—Charlesetta M. Fisher. She must have been a daughter, or possibly a step-daughter, of George Fisher. We know nothing further about her, and we note that at the time of Fisher's death in 1873, the newspaper obituary stated that he had children in Mississippi, but "none here"—meaning none in San Francisco. This daughter, if his, would have been an infant when he went to California. Since Fisher later settled property upon this third wife, though separated from her, it may be that he thus intended to provide for this minor daughter. Research might reveal at least the date of Charlesetta's death.

The period of the Gold Rush was also the period of the great revolution in Hungary, led by the brilliant and dynamic Louis Kossuth—whose wife, according to Livingston, was from Fisher's birthplace, Szekes-feher-var. George Fisher must have read the news dispatches from Europe that year with more than his usual avid interest, and his thoughts must surely have been on tragic Budapest.

It had now been almost twenty years since he, probably as George Ribar of Belgrade, as well as George Fisher of Mississippi, had been naturalized in Mexico; fifteen since his reconciliation with Stephen F. Austin, ten since his divorce from Elizabeth Davis; nine since his marriage to Mrs. Page.

Now, once more, the attempt to establish a home was setting him instead upon his travels—for it must have been this third marriage that made him divorce himself from Texas.

X. Panama Passage (1849-1851)

That George Fisher and his son Hiram went together to California in 1849 is known to us through statements made by "Lou" Fisher (Louis Clarke Fisher, son of George W. Fisher of Cayuga) who recalled clearly what he had heard from his father and his Uncle Hiram. Hiram went by boat from New Orleans to Galveston, and was there met by his father. Together they sailed to the Isthmus of Panama, crossed to the Pacific side—the railroad was not yet built—and at the City of Panama took ship for the Sacramento area. So far as we can see, the father did little gold mining; by the late spring of 1850 he was back in the City of Panama, to remain there for a year and a half. When Hiram got back to Mississippi with the "four bags of California gold money," in 1851 he had been away for almost two years.[135]

During his sojourn in Panama, George Fisher made friends, helped to organize a Masonic Lodge, and set up the firm of Fisher and Garrison, probably commission merchants. The crowds of Americans stranded there, awaiting passage to the gold fields of California, or returning from them with or without gold, would buy almost any merchandise offered for sale; but merchants could not get goods to sell, or could not afford the exorbitant freight charges.

We do not know whether or not they met, but Fisher's friend John Lloyd Stephens was in Panama. After the publication of his books, that on Yucatan being his last, Stephens had become a director of the American Ocean Steam Navigation Company, which established the first American line of transatlantic steamships. Stephens, his vigorous constitution undermined by his voluntary

hardships, died of malaria in 1852. But in 1850-52, as president of the Panama Railway Company,[136] he superintended the construction of the famous line across the Isthmus from Chagres to its Pacific terminal, the ancient walled City of Panama, so vividly described by Hubert H. Bancroft:

> Here, waiting and watching, some of them for weeks and months, for an opportunity to get away, the Californian emigrants continued the process of moral declination and de-civilization. Fledgelings fresh from their mothers; little mammon-dried men; tall, hairy fellows armed to the teeth and streaming with sweat—they all strolled about the streets, watching the fruit vendors and water-carriers, ogling the barebreasted girls, pricing hats, looking through the open doors of saloons. . . . Or, entering the churches, they would stalk about the aisles . . . invade the precincts of the altar and handle profanely the sacred ornaments. . . .
>
> Some few studied Spanish . . . some gambled or got drunk . . . some sat gazing at the bright humming birds. . . . Some died of fever; others killed themselves . . . by overdosing with patent medicines and cholera preventives. . . . A fever-stricken stranger was . . . shunned like a leper.[137]

Panama, with Colombia, formed the Republic of New Granada; what government it had was in the hands of a "liberal" governor, General Lopez, who usually avoided the place. The natives were Indian, African, Caribbean. They were united only in that they did not speak English and that they resented the influx of American gold-seekers who "held" the upper city within the ancient walls, and who looked down into the native quarters below as into a cockpit.

The Governor had gladly authorized the Railway Company to organize a police force for the protection of passengers, and possibly of baggage. (The latter was customarily "lost" en route, but could sometimes be recognized and bought back in the market). This force, forty men "motley in color, in costume, and in character," was commanded by a delicate, boyish Texas Ranger. It had

no jurisdiction within the walls, and the Government troops were uncertain. Often there were riots. One occurred in May, 1850, and George Fisher played a part in it.

The Panama Echo for Saturday, June 1, 1850 printed an article[138] by E. A. Theller, its editor and publisher, in which Theller tries to explain "just what happened" in this disturbance of some two weeks before: The excitement, he says, has now died down . . . the Americans do not wish to interfere . . . but they do hope that justice will be done by the "authorities of New Granada" . . . and Theller will now describe what he himself saw. "The boy who stole the money" is still around, "as a pig merchant." During the attack upon the *Echo's* printing office, "when Mr. Sempler was killed," the editor was out sightseeing with two friends, visiting the ancient ruins about the city . . .

> Without understanding all these circumstances, we proceed:
>
> > In the native parts we saw hundreds of infuriated men and women rushing like demons towards the walls of the city, armed with knives and stones. We feared for the emigrants coming in unarmed from Gorgona and Cruces. We slowly returned near to the French Consulate, and thence to the Cathedral Square, where a meeting of Americans had been called.

Here the Governor addressed the assembly in Spanish, promising that justice would be done. His speech was translated by "Col. Geo. Fisher of Texas, now a sojourner here—a gentleman who then, and during the whole day, merited all praise for his conduct."

The American consul advised adjournment, and the Americans dispersed: but many through curiosity stood watching upon the walls:

> Immediately after the adjournment, the Governor, the American Consul, accompanied by Col. Fisher as volunteer interpreter, and two Americans, repaired to the suburbs to quiet the assembled multitude of the Natives, who, excited now to the highest degree, had armed themselves with knives swords, pistols, clubs, and stones, and were preparing to assault the Americans, who were now in crowds upon the walls.

The Governor addressed them in Spanish, telling them that the respectable Americans had now dispersed. The natives put away their weapons and missiles and listened to the American Consul say in English that the Americans had left the matter to "the authorities"; would they not do the same? Colonel Fisher translated, and the natives rushed to embrace both Governor and interpreter.

Then all was changed! A reckless American fired a gun from the ramparts and killed a native! "Treason!" The crowd rushed upon the Governor and the interpreter.

> A burly Negro attempted to stab Col. Fisher, whereupon the Governor interposed his own body . . . to defend him. Mr. Turner, of the firm of Corwin, Brothers & Co., was attacked in the same manner by a Native with a huge knife, but saved by the daring of Wm. G. Hance, the keeper of the New York Hotel. Col. Fisher was bruised by stones thrown at him . . . and by the blows of clubs.

A party of American rescuers started out of the gate, but then turned their backs and fled, leaving the Consul, the Colonel, and the rest to the power of the mob, now determined to drive the vile *americanos* out of the country. A Mr. John Everett of Cayuga County, New York, was stabbed and beaten to death. "We returned to town," says Mr. Theller. The episode seems to have ended inconclusively. As Bancroft remarked, the Isthmus transit was a preparation for what would follow in California.

On August 7, 1850 George Fisher wrote a letter which might have kept him from going back to California. Introduced by Don Manuel Quesada, who may have been a brother Mason, he inquired of Mr. R. C. Wylley, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the King of Hawaii, if "any encouragement" could be held out to him to find a position in that government service. Wyllie received Fisher's letter in October and hastened to reply, after consulting with his colleagues, that they were receiving applications from men in California, in Australia, and elsewhere; and that there were no jobs. "Owing to its scanty revenues, the principle of getting the utmost possible work done for the least possible remuneration is so much the rule of this Government, that I could not . . . advise you to come to these Islands."[139]

Fisher stayed on in Panama. On November 5, 1850 the Masonic Lodge which he and eleven others had established received its charter from the Grand Lodge of Texas, as Union Lodge of Panama. George Fisher was Worshipful Master. So numerous were the hardship cases of ill and distressed brethren stranded on the Isthmus, that on February 6, 1851 it was resolved to request the Grand Lodge of Texas to declare Panama a Masonic Missionary Station.[14]

He himself seems to have aided a possibly stranded lady, Mrs. Caroline H. Averill, a widow in her early thirties, to embark for Honolulu, apparently in the spring or early summer of 1851. From what we learn later we may infer that she was going there to be married to a Mr. Clarke; but she was "alone and unprotected," and hence in an equivocal position, and Mr. Fisher tried to act, at considerable distance, as *"prochain ami,"* as he put it. On August 15, 1851 Fisher writes to a Mr. Janion (in English) and to Mrs. Janion (in Spanish) to thank them for their "kindness and polite attentions" to Mrs. Averill, who "at the time of her last letter to me, was an invited guest under your hospitable roof" in Honolulu. He assures the Janions that an "Overruling Providence which protects the widow and the orphan" will prosper and bless them for their sympathy with the lady whom they have "so highly honored and distinguished."[141] Later he finds that he is being blamed for failing to thank the other good people (including "Doctor Lothrop, Mrs. Paty, and the Reverend Mrs. Smith") who had also given help and comfort to the "*ci-devant* Mrs. C.H.A."—who by that time had returned to San Francisco as Mrs. Caroline H. Clarke. He very sensibly sends along some copies of the letters written nearly a year before to the Janions, asks Mr. Wyllie to distribute them for "perusal, as being pertinent to the case of each person." Rather excitedly he explains his seeming rudeness, brought to his attention by Mr. Wyllie.

Conversation with Mrs. Clarke has now revealed that in October, 1851 she had sent from Honolulu a packet of letters for him to forward from Panama to "her Father, Brother, & friends, in the Atlantic States." It must have arrived there in December. But George Fisher had sailed on November 28, 1851 for San Francisco.

His "correspondence" had simply "accumulated" in Panama; the friend who was to forward it and to attend to his unfinished affairs for him had died soon after he left. Thus he had never received the letter from Caroline H. Averill in which she had informed him of the kindnesses shown by many others to her in Honolulu. But this regrettable mischance was discovered later.[142] Let us go back to the time of his exodus from Panama.

Fisher's second letter[143] to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for King Kamehameha III is so important to us that is must be quoted in full:

San Francisco, Ca. 18th Decr. '51

Hon. R. C. Wyllie
Minister &c: Honolulu.

Dr. Sir:

I arrived here on the 14th inst. per Steamer *Tennessee,* 16 days from Panama, for the purpose of Closing the business of the Firm of Dodge & Co. Express forwarders &c. at this place; the said Firm having discontinued business, for want of sufficient patronage & Capital to continue it to advantage.

I am sorry to state that in consequence of my Connection with the said Firm I am placed in a worse Condition than I was at the time when I had the honor of addressing you the first time, by virtue of the Introductory of our lamented friend the late Don Manuel Quesada. I therefore again appeal to your Kindness, generosity and sympathetic feelings, for advice whether or not it would be expedient for me to emigrate to your Kingdom in quest of employment of such nature as mentioned in my first respects to you, with no other capital than my industry and the humble qualifications I am possessed of, and how far I may calculate on the patronage of the Government, through your powerful and controlling influence, for obtaining an appointment to a post, no matter how humble, which would secure the gaining of an honest livelihood.

I would have no objection of remaining in California, but the climate in these latitudes is not congenial to my constitution; having spent upwards of 30 years in those South of 30. degrees I can not endure the Cold, and at this moment I am somewhat under the influence of Rheumatic feelings, produced by the Chilling Atmosphere of my appointment.

Here we may note that George Fisher, aged 56, with several brilliant futures behind him, writing apparently in an unheated room in December, feels the San Francisco fog in his bones and makes one of his very rare allusions to his own health or physical comfort. The sunshine of Hawaii was no doubt worth one more appeal, an unwontedly self-effacing one:

My pretensions are, indeed, very humble, and I would accept any appointment that would secure me a Competency to live in the most economical & frugal manner, as my habits are those of *"Total Abstinence."* No fame, family, or house to establish, no desire to accumulate wealth, to leave fortunes to heirs, nor to gratify Vanity or ambition.

Under these Circumstances, my dear Sir, I would be greatly obliged if you could in answer to this hold out some inducements to me to visit your Islands, and to become a useful Member of your Community.

I am, my dear Sir,

Respectfully and truly yours &c:

Geo: Fisher

P. S. Accompanied herewith a Package of newspapers.

Please address me to the care of "Dodge & Co." San Francisco, Cal.

In a few days the Steamer *Constitution* leaves here for Honolulu, the first of the line of Steamers, between Cal: and your Islands.—So advertised—which line of Steamers, if established, there is no doubt the tide of Emigration will set in very heavily to Hawaii, from the U. S. via this Port.—

> I had the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of Capt. Vincent of Hon: when at Panama, on his way home, by whom I have sent you a package of newspapers. I had some Conversation with him, relative to my emigrating to your Country; also on the subject of Masonry in your City—Should I be encouraged to go thither, I will bring with me such references as will be satisfactory to you or any other Gentleman, who would be willing to hand me his right hand of fellowship to assist me to make a beginning.
>
> Yours, &c:
>
> G.F.

Here then we have the "citizen of the world" almost ten years after the delighted John Lloyd Stephens saw him alight from the "diligencia" in Merida. He is again aground, but not adrift, and he tries what can be done. After all, he is a Mason, he has had experience, he knows languages. Mr. Wyllie docketed the letter as received on January 23, 1852 and answered next day.

But already on January 9 George Fisher had written him some good news: he has obtained an appointment *"ad libitum"* as translator to the U. S. "Board of Commissioners to ascertain and settle Land Claims in California."[144]

> Altho the Salary is a very limited one, and scarcely sufficient to defray the most necessary expences, with economy; yet I was disposed to accept . . . because it will bring me in Contact with, and to the favorable notice of, men who may be useful to me in future, either in Business or Social life.— . . . I shall remain here, with my present employ, until I be able to advance; nevertheless, I would not be disinclined to emigrate to your Country, in case I could expect to do better.

Fisher goes on to say that last evening he visited, by invitation, California Lodge No. 1, and was present when action was taken on the "papers from the Brethren of Honolulu." He is pleased to see the Masonic Spirit in Hawaii and hopes the "Warrant of Authority" will be obtained. Just as Panama links the Atlantic

Masonic chain to that of the Pacific, so will Honolulu link the Western Coast of America to the Eastern one of Asia, and to the Islands of Polynesia and Australasia. As for conditions in San Francisco: Business is dull, the market being flooded with large importations from the U. S., from Europe and from China, all selling at auction at ruinously low prices. Agriculture in California is augmenting, vegetables and grain coming in now from the Santa Clara and other valleys. Cattle and sheep are driven up from the lower part of the state as much at times as 600 miles. Again he adds a long post script:

> P.S. Is Mrs. C. H. Averill yet in your City?[144]
>
> P.S. 14th Jany 1852
>
> Since writing the foregoing I have received the Balance of the printed Correspondence between the Hawaiian Governt & the French Commissioner Mons. E. Perrin, which you sent me. . . . Your note at the end is conclusive and à propos. . . .

He comments upon the Message of the President of the United States, assuring the Independence of Hawaii, rather than Annexation by the United States. He is sure that this is in Accordance with the desires of King Kamehameha III, his chiefs and nobles—and of benefit to the whale fisheries. . . . Senator Gwin of California has introduced a bill in Congress "for the establishment of steam navigation from California to China, via the S [andwich] Isles."

Fisher's forwarding of news and comments must have been welcome to the Foreign Minister, as the correspondence continues. In a long letter dated February 28, 1852 Fisher informs him that "Mrs. Clarke, *ci-devant* Mrs. Averill," has arrived safely in San Francisco; she came on the *George Washington,* her husband on the *Constitution.*[145]

> Mr. & Mrs. Clarke are here at Present, and contemplate remaining about a month; after which they propose to leave for Lima; as their permanent residence—I am of the opinion that the Lady has made a good selection and I hope they will assure to themselves mutual happiness.

Fisher has just been appointed Secretary to the Land Commission.

His duties are laborious and require much mental exertion, constant application, and "dedication to the office." He sends two copies of the Rules and Regulations; on pages 5 and 10 "you will see my duties & Compensation. I am Content with them."

George Fisher then says he is sorry to hear that in 1851 Captain Thomas of the British ship *Brant,* on which Mrs. Averill had arrived in Honolulu, had made "foul charges" against this lady, and allusions "offensive to the character of a gentleman" about George Fisher, in connection with her. Also, that this captain "purloined the letter of recommendation from Mr. Garrison of the Firm of G. & F. [Garrison and Fisher] at Panama, in favor of Mrs. A. which I sent to him at Tobago." But now the *Brant* has just come in to San Francisco from Hong Kong, with a load of coolies, and Fisher intends to confront the "rude Mariner, void of any fine feelings," and require an accounting.

In his usual significant postscript Fisher reports that he has indeed had an interview with this Captain Thomas and with the "supercargo," a Mr. Martin, on board the *Brant.* Both deny having uttered a word against the lady (or the gentleman). They think the scandalmonger was a "certain Mrs. Murphy, a female accompanying Capt. Jewett of the *Bark,* who was at that time in Honolulu." She had spread the tale that Mr. Fisher had had a hand in clandestinely "sending off Mrs. A. on board the *Brant* from Panama." Fisher will get both men to put their denial in writing, so that he may send it to Mr. Wyllie. He would not have the kind people in Honolulu think he had "packed upon them a female of a doubtful character." Caroline H., now Mrs. Clarke, is

> a Lady, in every respect, and one who deserved at that time a better fate; and was entitled to the protecting hand of any Gentleman; in which capacity I acted for the time being as *"prochain ami."* I hope you will be pleased to explain this to Mrs. Thompson . . . .

Mr. Wyllie marked this letter as received on April 5, and sent on to Mrs. Thompson, who returned it on April 9.

On April 6, 1852[146] Fisher reports to his friend Mr. Wyllie that his appointment as Secretary has, as of April 1, been confirmed as permanent; that Mr. Brinsmade will soon return from the At-

lantic States bringing jewels and regalia for the Royal Arch Chapter; that there is to be an entertainment at the American Theatre for the benefit of the charitable Masonic Funds; that Mr. and Mrs. Clarke are to leave on April 15 by the steamer *Quickstep,* via Panama, for Callao, Peru, and that "Mrs. C. wishes to be remembered to you." Mrs. Parker's account of the Sandwich Islands is being criticized in the California papers. The Postscript suggests, "should you honor me in future with your kind favors," that letters be addressed to the "Secretary of U. S. Land Commission, Box No. 569, Post Office."

In a letter which Fisher wrote on May 7, 1852 and which Mr. Wyllie received in record time on June 4, he explains the mixup which had occurred the autumn before, when the letters from Caroline H. arrived in Panama after Fisher had sailed for San Francisco.[147] Then on October 14 he writes from Los Angeles,[148] where the Land Commission has been holding its sessions since August 31; this is why he has not been able to send newspapers of late. In answer to Mr. Wyllie's letter of September he touches on several topics: for instance, he expresses interest in the mission of the French Commissioner, Monsieur Perrin, which he hopes will assure peace between the government of His Majesty King Kamehameha and "La Belle France." Fisher had apparently met Perrin in Panama; he says, "Should he arrive safely on your hospitable shores, please convey to him my most respectful regards."

> Your request has been complyed with, relative to the conveying the intelligence to our mutual friend Mrs. C. (*cidevant* Mrs. A.—) relative to the letter sent by her Brother, to the Care of Captn. Snow, and its probability of having perished in the Conflagration of the Office & the Stores . . . She wishes to be kindly remembered to you.—which I do herewith with pleasure.—Her health is restoring, and she is out of all danger.

We infer that the Clarkes did go to live in Peru; very possibly Mr. Clarke was employed by Starkey, Janion and Co., (later, Janion, Green and Co.), who had branches in South America. Mrs. Clarke (still having trouble with letters to or from her brother) must have become ill as soon as she arrived in Peru.

And so, for the time, ends the episode of Caroline H., one that had its beginning in Panama, and that, in combination with Fisher's attempt to enter the unremunerative service of King Kamehameha III, gained for him the friendship of Mr. Wyllie, long the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Kings of Hawaii.

But one remaining paragraph in Fisher's letter from Los Angeles needs mention; it is, in fact, his opening one:

> Your Kind favor of the 4th Septr. last, with the enclosed draft for $50 is duly at hand, and the Contents noted with attention:—I am sorry that I was ignorant of the Laws of your Kingdom relative to the Emigration of the Natives, as well as of the Character of the Natives themselves.—for both of which information please accept my grateful thanks; also my ignorance of the facts as an apology for troubling you with the Commission.—

What can this mean? Was George Fisher "contemplating" the founding of a colony of Hawaiians in California?

XI. California Land Commission (1852-1856)

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, a defeated Mexico had ceded California to the United States. Immediately afterward, gold was discovered, and the great new territory became the goal of the most frenzied of all immigration races and the center of bitter discussions in Congress. In some ways the pattern of events repeated that for Texas, run off even more rapidly; and again George Fisher played a part.

In 1848-49, with Mexican law and military rule technically at an end, and with thousands of newcomers arriving, there were no laws and no authorities. Local governments were set up here and there, and in September, 1849 a Convention framed a "free-state" Constitution and applied for admission into the Union. A year later California was admitted. The first need was the establishment of law and order—one to be carried out at first through lynch law, vigilance committees, irregular courts. Tied up with this was the second great necessity—that of deciding disputed land claims. Few in California were undisputed.

All land cases were decided by the California Land Commission, which consisted of three commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, and of a Secretary who should know both Spanish and English. This Secretary, as we know, was George Fisher. During its sittings, from 1851 to 1856, the Commission heard and decided over 800 cases, involving title to over twelve million acres of land. The Spanish-speaking holders of haciendas, or of vast unused tracts whose boundaries had never been exactly defined in the Spanish grants made to their grandfathers, seldom had any documents. If, they reasoned, their ancestors' rights had never been questioned, why now should they themselves be robbed by squatters? Why be forced to gamble for their own, under the unknown rules of an alien game, and in the tongue of the stranger?

To the Americans, who had come through the perils of Isthmus, sea, desert, or mountain, it seemed that these "conquered Mexicans" who had done nothing to get or to develop these holdings were the real "squatters." The Lord gives his earth to those who use and develop it, not to those who merely encumber it. Sometimes, too, the "Mexicans" did put forward enormous fraudulent claims, hoping to win a valid title so that they then could speculate, or sell to American land companies what had never truly been theirs. Many Americans did not want to dig gold, but to raise cattle and crops, supposing in good faith that the rich valleys had been Mexican public land and had now become American public land. They pitched camp, put in claims, began establishing ranches.

The sympathy of historians has often been, a bit sentimentally, with the hacienda owners, though all admit that the Commission was both honest and efficient.[149] There was much said in both languages, much for the indefatigable George Fisher to translate and to record in his clear and forcible hand. It was up to the native Californian to come before the Commission, present his evidence, and try to get his grant approved. It was perhaps lucky for California that the Secretary of the Commission had knowledge of languages, skill in handling Spanish land records, and experience with "Mexicans."

In 1853-54 John Livingston, a New York lawyer, was publishing in book form his collection of biographical sketches of "eminent Americans" who had, often with insufficient public recognition, helped to found institutions or to render service to their states. That of George Fisher "of Hungary," Secretary to the California Land Commission, stresses his service to Texas; but it is the only entry for California. It is placed in Volume III, but there is some repetition between Volumes III-IV and I-II, and it is hard to determine with certainty the date when it was written. Furthermore, though the place of publication reads New York (and London), there is evidence that Livingston sometimes caught his subjects in Washington and there made them sit for their "portraits." The writer of George Fisher's obituary was to state in 1873 that Livingston's sketch was "published in Washington" while Fisher was Secretary of the Land Commission "in this city" (San Francisco) in 1853. The Library of Congress catalogue states that Livingston's "lives" appeared first in "parts" and were later collected. That of Fisher may have been written and published in Washington in 1853, and have then been included in Volume III in 1854.[150]

Though we do not know as a fact that George Fisher was sent to Washington in 1853 on business for the Land Commission, this is in itself quite probable; and the presence of Fisher in Washington offers the only plausible explanation of how Livingston came to know of him, or how he could have procured the information he put into his biographical account. It is true that Livingston quotes documentary sources; but actually the only "source" he needed, aside from John L. Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan,* and a letter from Stephen F. Austin, was a copy of Fisher's *Memorials* of the Tampico Expedition. Fisher would very likely have had a copy of his printed pamphlet with him, as well as copies of letters from Austin; he treasured them. After they had met—possibly through some "mutual friend"— Livingston certainly interviewed Fisher and then wrote up his notes. The whole sketch bears the earmarks of the journalistic interview: the omissions, the slight inaccuracies, especially on recent events, the over-emphasis on some points, and the attempt to reflect the "living" personality of the man being presented. Livingston's long series of just such "portraits" had given him skill in this difficult art—the rapid

writeup of the long and often "controversial" life. Livingston is sympathetic with Fisher's desire to prove, for posterity, that he had always been a loyal Texan.

George Fisher's sojourn in Washington must have been in the late autumn of 1853, for in 1854 he was in Mississippi, probably on his way back to the West. Records there show that he then deeded his own interest in the family property to his three sons.[151] It may have been true, as he had written almost two years before to R. C. Wyllie in Honolulu, that he had "no fame, no family, or house to establish." Certainly no one was dependent upon him. Elizabeth Fisher, at the old home on "Big Sand," was conducting the business of the plantation with the help of her son Hiram; Mary Caroline Fisher must have been living in Houston, possessed of considerable property. George Fisher did not desire to keep from his sons what they, and he, considered to be theirs. While he apparently told Livingston nothing of his marriages or of his children, he did, says the biographer, show himself "anxious to have his name descend untarnished" to them—that is, *their* name, the name Fisher. He also was willing to make clear the land records.

Thus he closed the Mississippi chapter. His sons were men, the past was past, the Texan had one more future—one in California. He resumed his labors with the Land Commission. Now extended for two more years, its sessions continued until March 4, 1856. That George Fisher's services were appreciated by the members is attested by letters he preserved in his *Memorials.*[152] By May, 1856 he turned over his records and set off once more from San Francisco to the "Atlantic States," coming back later through Texas. At some point he must have received this letter from Joseph S. Wilson, Acting Commissioner, dated July 14, 1856:

> Sir:
>
> In informing you of the receipt in fine condition of the voluminous manuscripts of the late Board of California commissioners, permit me to express my admiration of the great skill and method evinced in the arrangement of the work, as well as the excellence of its mechanical execution.

Possibly at this date Fisher was arriving by ship in New York or Philadelphia, and getting in touch with friends.

In a letter dated July 25, 1856 another Commissioner, Alpheus Felch, expresses pleasure to "hear of your safe arrival on the Atlantic side of our wide nation," disappointment that Fisher cannot visit him at his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and hope that they may meet again, "if not before your return to California, at least at no very distant day." Felch continues:

> The relations existing among us all who were connected with the arduous labors of the Commission were of so friendly and pleasant a character, that we cannot readily forget each other, or ever cease to regard with interest the fortune of our former associates.

An earlier one, dated May 13 from San Francisco and signed "with great respect" by five Commissioners (Wilson, Felch, and three others—Harry J. Thornton, R. A. Thompson, and Thompson Campbell—as well as by two Law Agents, Louis Blanding and J. H. McKune) wishes Fisher a "pleasant and prosperous voyage," and concludes:

> We take pleasure in expressing our high appreciation of the skill and ability with which you discharged, first, the duties of clerk, and afterwards, from the 2nd of February, 1852, those of the more responsible and laborious office of Secretary of the Board during the respective terms of our official connection with that commission, and until its close on the 4th of March, 1856.

By preserving these letters, Fisher the record-keeper gives us exact dates, facts, and names. We wish he had kept diaries to inform us of his travels and of his thoughts.

He was in 1856 not only winding up his services to the California Land Commission, but he was making a final settlement of his affairs in Texas. By September he was in Houston, disposing of his property there, and seeing old friends. Whether or not he saw his (third) wife, Mary Caroline Fleming Fisher, we do not know. But it may have been at this time that he made over some land to her. The estrangement which followed so soon after the marriage in 1848, must have been complete. Neither sought divorce;

George Fisher had simply left Texas—the bright land where he had once planned to "remain during life," even at the cost of divorcing his first wife.

His large collection of books and manuscripts he gave to the State of Texas, to the Houston Lyceum, and to the Masonic Library of the Grand Lodge of Texas. A letter of thanks for the "magnificent present" is dated September 5, and signed by W. G. Painter, Secretary of the Houston Lyceum; a note in the *Memorials* mentions over a hundred volumes and manuscripts "in several languages." Another letter, signed by Edward Clark, Secretary of State, and dated September 16, 1856 thanks Mr. Fisher for his kind offer of three volumes of *"Diario del Gobierna de la Republica Mexicana,* of the period of the Texan Revolutionary War." He asks Fisher to give them to E. A. Palmer or to F. R. Lubbock, for delivery to the Governor. The Fisher Papers, made up of some of these items, are deposited in the Texas State Library, while other Fisher items are in the University of Texas Library, and in the Houston Public Library.

Although he was prepared to return to San Francisco, which (in spite of continued travels) was to be his home for the rest of his life, it could not have been easy for George Fisher to close his Texas chapter; it had been long and complex, and it held his past hopes. Its pattern, oversimplified and foreshortened, perhaps distorted, emerges in John Livingston's "portrait," to which we now return for comment. Livingston had presented Fisher primarily as an "all Texan" patriot, still (in 1853) seeking to defend his record. He had been one who through the doubtful struggle never faltered, and so on, until he beheld the Lone Star mingling its beams in the constellation—that is, until Texas was annexed by the United States.

Of the young George Fisher's first years in America we read only that after overcoming with iron will and sturdy courage the harassing trials which only the stranger knows, George Fisher went to live in Mississippi and there became an American citizen. In 1825, "impelled by love of adventure," he went to the City of Mexico . . . helped to found lodges of York Rite Masons . . . was naturalized . . . returned to New Orleans in 1830 with the Hon.

J. R. Poinsett. . . . All this we know; but we would scarcely have known it except for John Livingston. There is no mention of any marriage in either Mississippi or Texas, no mention of Fisher's desire to "colonize" in Texas, nothing of his quarrel with Stephen F. Austin or his troubles at San Felipe or Galveston, no intimation of any failure or frustration.

Most surprising is Livingston's interpretation, which in the interview must have been Fisher's, of the two stormy years as Collector of Customs in the Texas of Empresario Austin and of Commandante General Terán:

> Mr. Fisher repaired to Galveston, Texas (then a Mexican port), where he received the appointment of collector of customs. This position he held until 1832, and it was during his administration of that department that the germ was placed, from which a few years later sprung the tree which is now yielding such abundant fruit to the American Republic of the North; and, as one of the consequences of its growth and possession, producing the war which shook the golden apple of California into her lap.

Now the writers of the history of Texas do assert that "the germ" of the Revolution was planted in the "disturbances at Anahuac," and at Galveston. But they see the doughty collector of Mexican revenue more as villain than as hero in that act of the drama.

Actually, the biographer's implication is the true one. Fisher was a Federalist who worked for Freedom. During two confusing years he served unhappily in Bustamente's Centralist regime. He felt that the colonists of San Felipe, too prone to think that whatever "was" might as well be "right" in Mexican politics, did not try to understand Federalist opposition, and saw him only as spy and troublemaker. Then when he, like them, would do his full duty to the existing Centralist government, the colonists saw Fisher as an agent of despotism. But that in the end both he and they had worked together for the Cause of Texas is true enough. We may enjoy laughing at the suggestion that Fisher's administration of the customhouse led to the statehood of both Texas and California! But we can understand that Fisher still felt so uncomfortable over

that phase of his career as a Texan that he was always overanxious to explain it away.[153] Just so, he never ceased to show that as a Mexican Federalist he had opposed Santa Anna's dictatorship before most Texans had. He had now left Texas; but through Livingston he could publicly set the old record straight.

Writing twenty years after the events of 1833-34, Livingston stresses the part played then by Fisher's Matamoros newspaper against the usurper of the Constitution of Mexico. At the very time of the interview, the incredible Santa Anna, currently recalled from exile, had been elevated to the Mexican presidency "for life" with the title of Serene Highness. By 1856, when Fisher was in Texas, Santa Anna had once more been overthrown and exiled. He was still "news," however.

If, says, Livingston, the Mexicans had realized how much the "sagacious" Fisher understood of their affairs in 1835, they would have put him into prison with his "noble and unfortunate friend, Stephen F. Austin," instead of banishing him to New Orleans. For there, in the public meeting called in behalf of Texas, Fisher in his speech had exposed Santa Anna's policy and plans. Then Fisher had joined General Mexía in the "descent upon Tampico." Livingston quotes from the letter sent from Mexico City in 1834 in which the imprisoned Austin had written to George Fisher, "You have interested yourself in me, even at the risk of injuring yourself." Fisher is thus presented as the friend of Austin, long dead, and the enemy of Santa Anna, still very much alive.

After discussing discrepancies between what Fisher had just disclosed to him on his birthplace and origins, and what Fisher had told Stephens in Yucatan, Livingston summarizes Fisher's services to the cause of Freedom for Texas: at Galveston he planted the seeds of revolution; from Matamoros he was banished for upholding principles of democracy; under the Republic he wrote articles on Annexation, "useful in procuring the election of Mr. Polk," and therefore in putting Texas into the Union.

He lists offices held by Fisher in Houston and in Austin, mentions Fisher's courage in helping to quell a mob in Panama, his

activities as a Mason, his proficiency in eighteen languages. He concludes:

> Having in less than fifty years[154] undergone more than fifty ordinary men of greater age, he remains a plain, unassuming, active gentleman, unpretentious of fame, and only anxious to have his name descend untarnished to his children; and as a proof of this he is now quietly performing the arduous duties of Secretary to the Board of Land Commissioners to ascertain and settle the private land claims in California, and *ex officio* interpreter of said body, its translator and keeper of its archives.

This brief biography, uneven and unsatisfactory as it is in some ways to a modern reader who would welcome more information on some points, and fewer stylistic flourishes, must in itself be recognized as an important event in the life of George Fisher. Through its publication he attains a certain solidity, a definite status as an "eminent American" then living. Fisher himself welcomed it: he bound reprints of it in with the other items we have already described, to form his little presentation volumes, his *Memorials*.

In the period when the Texan was becoming a Californian, it presented and defended the part he had played in the heroic Old Days, which by 1853 in Texas were fast receding from view. It repudiated the baffling alternative of his origin as George Ribar, born in Belgrade, and it restated what his family in Mississippi knew from the early records he had himself entered in the family Bible, that he was born in Hungary. (See Appendix A). It is worth noting, incidentally, that in 1853-54, when Louis Kossuth was in exile in Turkey, and Hungary was being administered, after Russian intervention, by Haynau "the Butcher," John Livingston lays stress upon the town of Szekes-feher-var as in itself heroic. It was there that Captain John Smith had fought, before he came to Virginia (to be saved by Pocahontas); and it was there that the wife of Kossuth was born. Across the tops of his pages he uses as running-title: "George Fisher of Hungary."

XII. San Francisco, End of Many Journeys (1857-1873)

During his years in Houston, while Texas was a republic, George Fisher's legal practice was concerned mainly with the

searching of land titles, the settlement of estates, and "conveyancing of every description." After 1845, for the State of Texas, he had worked with the Spanish records in the General Land Office in Austin. Then later had come his years as Secretary of the California Land Commission. His knowledge of land matters, especially those going back to Spanish or Mexican grants—a subject to which his own frustrations with the Zavala grant in Nacogdoches had served as painful initiation—became expert and authoritative.

Livingston in his biographical sketch had rather hurriedly remarked that in Houston Mr. Fisher "filled the offices of justice of the peace, county judge, recorder of the city, notary public, and commissioner of deeds for almost every state in the union, &c, &c. &c." In 1856-1857, when Fisher, after completing his work on the California Land Commission, visited the "Atlantic side" of the nation, he procured appointments in various states of the East and South, and then in Texas, empowering him as Commissioner of Deeds to attend to claims in California. Such appointments were usually made by the Governor, through his Secretary of State, for a limited term, perhaps two years; they might then be renewed, or reinstated, upon payment again of the nominal fee. For a number of years George Fisher was engaged in this type of legal work. At No. 33, 2nd Floor Montgomery Block, in San Francisco, he set up his office. He must have had a staff of assistants, including an attorney to abstract titles, for he himself was frequently away on his travels. Within a few years he made a number of transcontinental journeys—surprisingly many, if we consider the difficulty and tediousness of travel in the 1850's and 1860's, and the fact that he was no longer young. They were made in connection with his work, and for Fisher were no doubt an exhilarating part of it.

The appointments which he received in 1857 from the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas are printed in the "Correspondence" section folded into the back of bound copies of the *Memorials of George Fisher*. There is also a letter from Charles Gilman, dated from Baltimore on April 27, 1857, informing Fisher that he will find the appointment as Commissioner of Deeds for Maryland when he arrives home in San Francisco. Gilman congratulates him upon the successful close of his labors on the California

Land Commission and wishes him further good fortune. "On your arrival," he adds, "I shall be pleased if you will drop me a line . . . respecting such affairs in San Francisco as you may suppose will be interesting to me." One event of interest in 1858 in San Francisco was the opening of Hubert H. Bancroft's book and stationery store on Merchant Street. Others were the aftermaths of the "popular tribunals" or Vigilance Committees of 1852-56—that is, the trial and execution of Casey and Cora, and the arrest and trial of Judge Terry; the struggle of the Second Committee to deliver the city from the corrupt office-holders; the boycott of the *Herald*[155]. . . . Whether or not these news items would have interested Mr. Gilman, surely George Fisher had not outgrown his enthusiasm for such matters? But we have little evidence that he ever took part in the violent life of the city. Our only "documentation" has to do with his work with the land claims.

He probably was commissioned by other states besides the five already mentioned; Gilman said he would be glad to help him get appointments "in Northern states." Many of the claims resulted from the chaotic conditions brought by the Gold Rush; presumably many of them would be settled, in one way or another, by Fisher's efforts, and then his business would eventually slacken. But for some years he was kept busy. For instance, in his *Memorials* he gives an appointment issued by the Secretary of State of Mississippi, A. B. Dilworth, good from March 30, 1857 to March 30, 1859. Records in the Mississippi State Archives show two other similar ones, one overlapping with this, the other (from April 10, 1859 to October 3, 1859) serving as an extension. During the two years, March to March, 1857-59, plus the extension to October 3, George Fisher, or his office staff, handled 221 claims for Mississippians.[156] During the same period he would have been giving similar legal service to clients in other states.

Anyone who resided in San Francisco, as did George Fisher until his death there in 1873, yet at the same time attended to affairs in Washington, D. C. and visited various states, would in some years spend considerable time in stage coach and on horseback, on sailing ship, steamboat, perhaps even canal boat, as well as in hotels and inns, and in the homes of friends. We regret that

this traveler never felt impelled to set down observations on the development of travel routes and means of transportation across the wide nation. Nothing reveals more accurately the swift changes taking place in America, and nothing could have been of more immediate concern to this intelligent observer. Family tradition has told us that "Grandfather Fisher went all three ways to California —across the Isthmus, across the continent, and around the Horn." We see no time, really, for that longest voyage, but we know he did cross the Isthmus of Panama several times, both before and after the railway was built across it. Such voyages, even the relatively short ones from California to Panama, and then from Colon to New Orleans, or to New York or Philadelphia, remained full of minor horrors. They were subject to storm and accident, and plagued by bad food, crowded quarters, and outbreaks of infectious disease among both passengers and crews.

The land routes were likewise pathways to danger and even death. Though designed primarily for prospectors or for families of settlers in wagon trains, the guidebooks and "Prairie Travelers" indicate what a trip to California might mean, even in the late '50's. Their maps show trails that had been worn by the wheels and footprints of the Forty-niners and were still marked by their bones. Dry notes furnish information on mileage between identifiable points, on Indian fighting, on the exact location of the next possible grass, wood, and water. If the rivers are flooded, swim your mules obliquely and land downstream; if low, water the oxen before you start across or they will stop to drink and sink in the quicksand; if you are caught in the passes of the Rockies in deep snow— Yet by 1860 the Overland Stages were in operation. With six good mules, changed every few hours, the stage made about a hundred miles in each twenty-four hour day—if it was not "stopped" by holdups or breakdowns or wind or weather. It did not run in winter.

Horace Greeley went by rail to Kansas City in the summer of 1861, the beginning of the war. He took the stage by way of Denver and Salt Lake City, making the whole trip in about a month. Sam Clemens (he was not yet Mark Twain) in that same year went up the Missouri to St. Joseph, and there took the stage

along the more northerly route by Laramie, on to Salt Lake City and to Carson City, Nevada. He made it from St. Joseph in almost record time—nineteen days and nights, lying most of the time among the mail sacks and on top of his brother's unabridged dictionary—or under it. He almost starved, as the food furnished at the stations was usually bad Mexican to begin with, and then garnished with dead flies. George Fisher was traveling then, and he sometimes seems to have gone in winter.

Let us here observe that at few times in his long pilgrimage, in fact almost never until his old age and final illness, do we find his plans interrupted by ill health or accident or physical breakdown. In times and in places in which most people, young and old, expected to be laid low by malaria, tuberculosis, smallpox, yellow fever, and cholera—to say nothing of drowning, strong drink, gunshot wounds, and broken necks, George Fisher is concerned with almost everything except his own health and comfort. Even if he did not take pen in hand to describe the scenery, it is certain that he saw and enjoyed much, and that travel continued to raise his spirits.

He was back in San Francisco, then, in the spring of 1857, with power to act as Commissioner of Deeds in California for a number of other states. A year later he was in Washington, D. C., busy no doubt in the service of clients, but at the same time engaged in putting together items relative to his own life, having them bound up as small volumes, and then presenting them suitably inscribed, to some of his friends, or to libraries. It is these bound volumes which are referred to as the *Memorials of George Fisher*. One proof that he was in Washington in the spring of 1858 is that he so dated some of his presentations of these *Memorials*.

Another proof is found in his notations upon an article, in two parts, on the history of Masonry in Mexico, signed "Desaguliers," possibly a pseudonym for George Fisher himself. A reprint is bound into some copies of the *Memorials*. That in the one in the Library of the University of Texas is signed by George Fisher, and dated from Washington, D. C., May 8, 1858. Below is written, "Revised, corrected, and amended, Washington, D. C., April, 1859."[157] Yet during the intervening year he must have gone back to San Fran-

cisco, for in 1858-59 he was handling a large volume of land claims there. Assistants in his office could go ahead with work which he ordered or initiated; but he would have to take back each new batch of business which he had gathered up on his trips. It is true that the mails now went more promptly via Panama, and that the Pony Express and other means had been put into operation; but he could hardly have relied upon the postal service to bring his business to him, or to deliver deeds to his scattered clients. He must have done much of his own fetching and carrying. At the same time he seems to have maintained his interest in Masonic affairs, and possibly the emergence of Juarez as president of Mexico in 1858 revived his memories of Escoseses and Yorkinos and of the Old Times, more than thirty years before.

There were problems enough for the Commissioner of Deeds to attend to. Many people during the Gold Rush and immediately after it had purchased land in California, or tried to, and many had been swindled. Those who bought through agents might have paid all or part of a purchase price, yet never received a deed. Others received deeds describing lands that did not exist; they would employ an attorney to make an abstract, only to discover that a "California lawyer" was as crooked as a land agent, or that the two were partners. The office of Commissioner of Deeds had come into existence because of the need for states to protect the rights of their citizens in other states; and many needed its aid. Details might vary from state to state; but usually the Legislature, to protect the client from being charged exorbitant fees, fixed nominal ones of possibly ten or fifteen dollars, perhaps somewhat more; and the Governor, or his Secretary of State, granted commissions only to reputable applicants. Even when no fraud was known to exist, purchasers of California land might want their land titles verified; they might then write a letter to the Commissioner of Deeds requesting that he make a search of records. On receipt of a claim, it was the Commissioner's duty to make an abstract of the described land, and determine the validity of the title. If he found it not valid, then he filed suit against the granter of the deed. Of course, if the claimant had never received a deed, the whole case was investigated and appropriate action taken.

George Fisher, with his knowledge of Spanish and Mexican land grants, and his service on the California Land Commission, was uniquely fitted for this work; at long last, he held a professional post for which his talents and experience made him completely competent. During some of the rowdiest years of turbulent San Francisco's development, he seems to have been both sober and a judge. Since his office must, for a time, have handled at least a thousand claims a year, Fisher must have been prosperous as well as happy in these latter decades of his career. Not the least of his related pleasures would have been the opportunity to meet, through his travels, other professional men, and to exchange views upon public affairs—topics which were of absorbing interest to the North and South just before the 1860's were at least discussed in the Far West. He no doubt continued his custom of corresponding with old friends, or of making new ones through the medium of ink and paper—just as, in his Panama period, he had come to know the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Kingdom of Hawaii, the correct and high-principled Scotsman, Robert C. Wyllie.

As for the next series of events in Fisher's life: In May, 1858 he may have heard while still in Washington of the death, in Houston, of Mary Caroline Fleming Fisher, his third wife. We do not know that he went back to California then by way of Texas, or that he took any responsibility in regard to the daughter named in his wife's will as Charlesetta M. Fisher. . . .[158] Then, in San Francisco in 1860, he was elected Justice of the Peace in the Fifth Ward, and thus became *ex officio* a Judge of the County Court. Next, he made another long journey toward the end of that year; for as we know from family tradition it was in January or February of 1861 that he appeared in Mississippi to make a last visit to his family at "Twin Halls." That chapter had not been closed after all, or the beginning of the Civil War served to reopen it. It is quite possible that during recent years he had been in Mississippi, seeing clients there in connection with their California land claims; but we know of no contact with his family after 1854 until this one. And for two reasons this visit in 1861 is for us, his descendants, highly important and dramatic.

First, it was made at the time of the Convention in Jackson which on January 9 passed unanimously the Ordinance of Secession which for eighty days made Mississippi a "free, sovereign, and independent Commonwealth," out of the Union and not yet in the Confederacy.[159] A strong minority in Mississippi still theoretically opposed Secession; it had, in fact, not yet dawned on some intelligent and independent minds that the logic of events would soon leave them few choices. Mississippi had long been a world to itself, fed by the life-stream of its river. Now the river was soon to be "closed at both ends" by the Federal blockade. If George Fisher had been in Washington (as he may well have been) when hostilities began, he must have hastened overland to Wheeling or to Cincinnati and come down the river on one of the last steamboats to make the through passage to New Orleans, getting off at Vicksburg or at Natchez to try to confer with his sons. Fisher, still the Federalist, stood with Sam Houston on this great and tragic issue: it was impossible, he thought, for the South to leave the Union, and disastrous for it to try to.

The second reason is less obvious. Dramatic values must be sensed in retrospect through the reading of a letter which George Fisher would receive in San Francisco some months later. It is, in fact, letter No. 11, the last extant in the correspondence with Mr. Wyllie, still in Honolulu, and it tells us a great deal we could never otherwise know. It is dated from "Rosebank," Mr. Wyllie's home outside Honolulu, on December 9, 1861 and is in answer to one which Fisher had written on August 19, presumably upon his return to San Francisco from his visit to Mississippi, and unfortunately not preserved. Since improved mail service had by 1861 done away with the long delays of earlier times, it is hard to understand this lapse of time; for Mr. Wyllie seems to be answering rather promptly, though in a leisurely and chatty style. Letter No. 10 (as we have them) had been dated from Los Angeles by Fisher some nine years before; yet the tone of this sole survivor from the later period is so easy and friendly, and its references to events, topics, and persons is so conversationally "continued," that we know there must have been many contacts during the interval and in the recent past. A sort of shared experience seems to be taken for granted, in spite of distance and delays. This relationship would have to have been

made through letters (not preserved), or through friends, or—one is tempted to add, "through a visit of Fisher's to Hawaii," except that this would seem impossible. Let us take up Mr. Wyllie's courteous communication, point by point.

Rosebank, Oahu
9th December 1861

My dear Sir:

I am much gratified with your kind letter of the 19th of August, and with the opinions you express of H. R. H. Prince Kamehameha, and of the late John Ricord.

Of the latter, I may safely assert that his fame, as the late King's Attorney General, will rest in the works which he left behind him, whatever his enemies may say to the contrary.

John Ricord had died in Paris on March 26, 1861. George Fisher had no doubt commented upon newspaper accounts of this brilliant and adventurous lawyer, who had had a career in Texas during its Revolutionary period, before he entered the service of the "old" king, Kamehameha III; many people had decided opinions upon John Ricord. But what of "H. R. H. Prince Kamehameha"? Had he too been mentioned in the newspapers? Which prince was intended, and what opportunity had Fisher had to form an opinion?

A long series of rulers of Hawaii bore the dynastic name "Kamehameha." Upon the death of King Kamehameha III in 1854, young Alexander Liholiho had succeeded as Kamehameha IV. He had in 1856 married Emma Rooke Naea, herself of both royal Hawaiian descent and of British; she was the great granddaughter of John Young, the boatswain-gunner who had in early days been counselor to Kamehameha I. Both King and Queen had been educated by English teachers and had visited England. The gracious young Queen Emma had been accepted as a friend by Queen Victoria, and after the heir to the throne of Hawaii was born in 1858 it was arranged that the Queen of England should become his godmother. He was given the title and style of "His Royal Highness the Prince of Hawaii," or "Ka Haku o Hawaii,"[160] and quite in the best British manner was referred to as "H. R. H. Prince

Kamehameha." The King and Queen were desirous of seeing the Episcopal, or Anglican, Church established in the Islands,[161] and in 1862 a bishop started on the long voyage from England. He would baptize the young prince at a great ceremony. But before he arrived, bringing a christening cup from the royal godmother, the child died. Just before he died, another clergyman had christened him, proxies acting as godparents, with the name "Albert Edward Lauikeaouli Leiopapa A Kamehameha," and there was great sorrow at the loss. When a year later the King died also, childless, it was his elder brother Prince Lot who became King Kamehameha V. This Prince Lot had not previously been looked upon as heir to the throne, and in the standard histories of Hawaii is not called "H. R. H. Prince Kamehameha." In 1861, when George Fisher and Wyllie are writing, that title would seem to belong to the little prince, then three years old; he, taken upon official tours of the Islands by his parents, and kept with them upon all occasions, was given much public notice and adulation. But he was never outside of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and George Fisher could only have read about him in the newspapers—unless Fisher had been to Hawaii. On the other hand, Prince Lot had in 1860 traveled in the United States and had visited California; so it is probably that prince who is referred to. It is perhaps merely odd that the meticulous Mr. Wyllie should give to him the title usually reserved for H. R. H. the Prince of Hawaii.

The next paragraph implies that Fisher has himself seen the prince, close at hand, whichever prince it was:

> The impression made upon you by Prince Kamehameha corresponds exactly with that made upon Lady Franklin by him, and by the King and Queen, while she and Miss Craycroft were here. I expect them here again about Christmas, on their way to Japan, China and England when they will again be my guests for 2 or 3 days.

Now the visit of Lady Franklin to Hawaii in 1861 was famous, as was she. Widow of the Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin (the loss of whose expedition in search of the Northwest Passage had stirred the world), Lady Franklin was herself an indefatigable world traveler and her visits were matters of international "social" im-

portance, and almost of diplomatic protocol. In Honolulu she had been entertained by the King and Queen (as well as by the Minister for Foreign Affairs), and she would certainly have been "impressed" by the royal heir, "His Royal Highness Prince Kamehameha." But of course she would probably have met Prince Lot also. Lot, in contrast to his charming brother, was heavy and short and "plain," and (as Mark Twain later observed) he preferred to ride his old horse around the plantations, instead of bothering with receptions or public ceremonies. It is not clear why Fisher should comment upon either of them in August, 1851.

In noting that Mr. Fisher's impression of "Prince Kamehameha" coincided with Lady Franklin's, the British-born minister is paying a notable compliment, and Mr. Fisher was no doubt "gratified" in his turn. For us, Mr. Wyllie's next remark has significance, far away as Hawaii may seem to be from the Fisher family of Mississippi:

> Mr. James Shields, of whom you inquire, is still here, pursuing quietly and respectably, his business. He seems always much pleased when I tell him that you and your lady take an interest in him.

Now we do not know who Mr. Shields was, or what his business. But the "always" indicates that for a fairly long time Mr. George Fisher has had a "lady"—and the lady is one known in Honolulu to both Mr. Shields and Mr. Wyllie! And Mr. Shields knows both the lady and Mr. Fisher, and is pleased that both of them *together* "take an interest in him." That Fisher knows the quiet and respectable Mr. Shields is shown by his having inquired; and the implication is that Fisher—and his wife—have known Mr. Shields in Honolulu; where else would Shields be pursuing his business? And there is nothing very recent about any of this. Mr. Wyllie makes no comment upon the fact that Mr. (and Mrs.) Fisher of San Francisco should take an interest in the good Mr. Shields; yes, he is "still here." He has been nowhere else. How and where did the Fishers know him, then?

And what now do we learn from all this? We know that by August 19, 1861, when George Fisher wrote the letter which is here being answered in leisurely fashion by his (now) old friend Mr.

R. C. Wyllie, he had already for some time been married to Caroline H.—she who in 1850-51 in Panama had been Mrs. Averill, and who had in 1852 become Mrs. Clarke, in Honolulu, and who had then gone to live in Peru. That she is now Mrs. Fisher is not news to Mr. Wyllie; but that the rather crusty old bachelor genially approves the union is evident. He simply accepts it, as if both husband and wife were his old friends.

We have known for some years, from cemetery records procured by Lawrence E. Mallette from Cypress Lawn in San Francisco, that at his death in 1873 George Fisher left a widow, Caroline H. Fisher, who was later buried beside him. Since she at her death in 1883 was 65 years old, she was more than twenty years younger than he. But until we came to know of this correspondence between George Fisher and R. C. Wyllie, we knew nothing else of her. Unless more can be learned of this Hawaiian story, we are left knowing its end and its beginning, but not its "middle." How much more can we infer? Let us review.

When Mrs. Caroline H. Averill went from Panama to Honolulu in 1851, she was a widow of 33. George Fisher thanked Mr. and Mrs. Janion for receiving her as a guest in their house. Since early in 1852 she returned to San Francisco with a husband, Mr. Clarke, we may suppose that she went out with the expectation of being married to him, and that Clarke was an employee of the well known British trading company, Starkey and Janion. The Clarkes went to Peru to live; Caroline was seriously ill, but by October, 1852 was recovering. Since there are no more letters, until Wyllie's No. 11, nine years later, we can only guess at the next events.

Caroline H. must again have been widowed. Possibly the Clarkes had returned to Honolulu, and possibly Mrs. Clarke had lived on, a member of the small and rather exacting circle that made up the good "society" of the isolated island capital. Or possibly she returned to the United States. We know that she had had a father and a brother somewhere in the "Atlantic States" when Fisher knew her in Panama. At some date after the death of his long estranged wife, in Houston in May, 1858, and at some time well before January, 1861, George Fisher married Caroline H. (See Appendix B, 2, page 138).

Now we see the connection between Mississippi and Hawaii—for when "Grandfather Fisher" visited "Twin Halls" early in 1861, with the Civil War already beginning, the fourth Mrs. Fisher was somewhere awaiting his return. Possibly she was in San Francisco, or possibly she had accompanied him on this journey. Where had their wedding taken place? In Honolulu? A pleasant thought, but only that. In San Francisco? Quite probably; but all public records there were destroyed by the earthquake and fire of 1906. Fisher had himself been in Washington and perhaps in Cincinnati in 1858 and 1859 . . . On this visit to his old home on "Big Sand" he would have encountered the first Mrs. Fisher: Elizabeth, now (like himself) aged 66 and still mistress of her plantation, so near to Vicksburg. She lived on it through the Civil War, and died on it in 1865.

But we must finish reading Mr. Wyllie's kind letter. Apparently George Fisher, writing in August upon his return from the East, the South, and an overland journey through the West, had expressed disapproval or dismay at Secession and Civil War. Wyllie agrees:

> The Civil War in the United States is indeed an event to be deprecated. The passions of the two parties seem to be so excited and antagonistic that I foresee great difficulties to a restoration of the Union. If Secession as a principle were admissible at all, the geographical position of California, Oregon, and Washington Territory, would give them more plausible grounds on which to claim Separation and Independence, than any that the States South of the Potomac can allege. But I am glad to find that nothing but loyalty to the Great Confederation prevails to the westward of the Rocky Mountains.

Here Wyllie may be citing the newspapers which undoubtedly Fisher had sent also. He adds that, by recent accounts, it appears that British Columbia will soon become an "important Colony," and he then concludes:

> I enclose a slip about the Ancestry of Queen Emma: and I send some others separately by the Mail; and with

A notice in the San Francisco Bulletin for Feb. 15, 1859 shows they were married in New York city on Jan. 19, 1859.

kind Compliments to Mrs. Fisher and best wishes to you and her, I remain ever

My dear Sir
Yours truly
R. C. Wyllie

To
Colonel Geo. Fisher
No. 33, 2nd Floor Montgomery Block
San Francisco

Mrs. Fisher, then, would be interested, as was the British-born Mr. Wyllie, in Queen Emma's "British" genealogy; at that period much was being made of the fact that the little Prince Albert Edward Kamehameha would, like his mother, be both English and Hawaiian.

By that standard, young Louis Clarke Fisher at "Twin Halls" was both Eastern Shore of Maryland and Slavono-Serbian of Stuhlweissenburg. The boy was twelve years old in 1861. The next year he and his brother William Davis Fisher would go to live with their father and stepmother (Jeannie) at Cayuga. They would there see General Grant's army march past the front gate. And before the Surrender at Appomattox, Lou Fisher would belong to a company of Mississippi Cavalry. He long remembered how his grandfather came back that time for a Hail and Farewell, and a warning against Secession. The boy saw the strong figure ride away on a big black horse.

We may wonder just how far, and in what direction, George Fisher then rode, on that stage of his return to San Francisco. There would have been little point in trying to go then to New Orleans. He could have crossed the river at Natchez, and ridden on by way of Nacogdoches to Galveston, to take ship for Panama—an old road for an old traveler. Or, he could have, like Greeley, gone overland by Kansas City. After the war, and after the death of Elizabeth Fisher, he was once more in New Orleans. His son Hiram met him there, taking with him his own son Noel Byron Fisher, then nine years old. That grandson of George Fisher (Alba Royal) long remembered the journey down the river, and the meeting in the great and busy city with his grandfather from California.

We lack details of George Fisher's latter years in San Francisco. Yet we get a clear impression of the "world citizen" as a dignified and venerated figure, more serene and contented than most of the other "Argonauts," and certainly more at ease and peace than he himself had ever been before. It seems that he should have left some Californian "documentation" for us, all in good order. But of course both private papers and public records were destroyed in 1906. It is possible that a search of the files of newspapers and periodicals published in California during the 1850's and 1860's might yield notices, or even perhaps some articles written by George Fisher. Meantime we can only regret that because of the timing of events, or through the missing of chance opportunities, he probably did not know many of the men and women whose names now have come to mean the "early days of San Francisco." George Fisher was too old to assist in the monumental labors of Hubert H. Bancroft who in the 1870's, with his staff of assistants, began translating and transcribing (Spanish) Californian archives, and in writing his extensive histories of Mexico, Texas, and California. We can wonder, however, if George Fisher ever encountered in the steep streets of the city such "passengers and sojourners" as Bret Harte or Bayard Taylor, Artemus Ward or Charles W. Stoddard, Joaquin Miller or Mark Twain. All were there in his time. By the latter 1860's both the *Golden Era* and the *Overland Monthly* were famous. Most of the great editors were Southerners . . . almost everyone had had adventures down the Mississippi, or in Mexico, or in Texas . . . And half the people of the world seemed to have made the desert crossing or the Panama passage, or the Cape Horn circuit.

Even after the Overland Stage could make its hundred miles a day (with luck), and the railroads were stretching out their tentacles, the ships still (with luck) reached the misty harbor. The famous semaphore greeted them from the sand-hills, announcing the approach of the clipper, the brig, the schooner, the great mail steamer; its long arms waving across the sky would forward the news of arrivals to Telegraph Hill. Here at the world's end, or its new center, was a city as dramatic as New York or Constantinople, as cosmopolitan as New Orleans or Honolulu, as memorable as Mexico City or as Belgrade.

To it in 1850 had come young Heinrich Schliemann. Once the poor grocer's apprentice from the German village, he had taught himself eighteen languages, and now, engaged in the international indigo trade, he was making his first million dollars. He stayed in San Francisco long enough to go into the banking business for the miners with their nuggets; and upon the admission of California to the Union, he became an American citizen. He was to go on to the Ottoman Empire and there attain his childhood ambition: to locate Homer's city of Troy and, *Iliad* in hand, to excavate it.[165] And from San Francisco in 1853 William Walker had sailed with his filibustering force to conquer Lower California. After a period of work upon the *Golden Era,* Walker had set forth again, this time to make himself master of Nicaragua, seizing Cornelius Vanderbilt's freight line across the Isthmus and getting his "government" formally recognized by President Pierce in 1856.[166] Secretary George Fisher probably encountered neither of these adventurers; still, their worlds impinged.

In comparison with them, and with all the other San Franciscans—those who formed the Vigilantes, fought the duels, burned the town and built it up again, who drank and gambled and died young, he seems through the ensuing years, to have led a life of tame sobriety. He became "Old Judge Fisher," cared for by a devoted wife. Still respected as having been Secretary to the Land Commission, he was in 1870 honored in a peculiarly fitting fashion: by King George of Greece he was appointed Greek Consul in San Francisco. It had been almost half a century since he had published articles on Freedom for Greece, in Natchez; but he had never ceased to consider it a "Cause."

In the National Archives in Washington are two impressive documents written in Greek and signed and sealed by the King of Greece *("to basilikon parasemon tes Ellados"),* and then by S. Valaority, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and dated January 31 (that is February 12, our style), 1870. The appointment, signed by President U. S. Grant and by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, is dated April 9, 1870; it was made in response to a request, dated April 8, from Charles R. Rangabe, the Greek Consul in Washington.[167] The papers seem to have reached Judge Fisher in May. Immediately his thoughts turned to Texas.

In a letter dated May 24, 1870 he informed Governor E. J. Davis of the appointment, and made a request; whether or not it was granted we do not know. Among the papers Fisher had presented to the State Department of Texas had been three copies of his "circular letter" or Manifesto sent out from Natchez in 1823 demanding American aid in freeing Greece. He would like for his wife, now in Texas, to be given a certified copy of it so that she could get copies printed for him to distribute to his friends in the Greek colony. He writes to the governor:

> . . . As my wife, Mrs. Caroline H. Fisher, may perhaps visit your city shortly on business, to whom I forward by the mail an Introduction to you, she being at this time in St. Augustine, St. Augustine County, Texas, on business relative to Real Estate, I have suggested to her to ask the favor of your causing one copy . . . of my Circular letter . . . to be certified by the Secretary of State . . . and lent to her . . . to have 100 copies printed in your City. She will pay the cost of printing and forwarding.[168]

That is, this business "relative to real estate" concerned the Nacogdoches region, and would take Caroline to Austin, the capital. Now that he was seventy-five years old and his health was (at last) failing, she was acting as his agent. But what could be of sufficient importance to take her on so long a journey? Was Fisher settling his affairs, and still trying to gain title to the Zavala land? Was he doing legal business (that is, making inquiries) for a client? Or did Caroline H. have some connection with San Augustine County?

At this same time he received a copy of a Houston paper. In it Fisher noted that a Harris County Historical Society had just been formed. He wrote to Ashbel Smith, its president, marking the names of old friends listed as members, and expressing the hope that when the history of the events of 1830-36 came to be written he would receive just treatment.[169] To that end he once more reviewed his own part in those difficult and contradictory times. Old wounds still rankled.

When George Fisher died on June 11, 1873 after a long illness, he was seventy-eight. His funeral took place on the following day from his house at 439 Mina Street, and he was buried in Laurel

Hill cemetery.[170] In Texas, the Dallas *Herald* printed this notice:

> "George Fisher, Greek Consul at San Francisco, is dead."
>
> The above telegram has gone the rounds of the Texas press, in the last two weeks, without a word of comment. . . . The time was, in days long past, that the death of George Fisher, in Texas, would have been considered a public loss.
>
> George Fisher was a Greek who Anglicised his name after leaving his native country. He came to Texas anterior to our Cause. His name runs through the records of the struggles of 1835-6. He was honorably identified with very important events, and rendered valuable service.

That the editor was writing from memory rather than from records is indicated by his next inaccuracy: he confuses Fisher's services in 1845 (when Fisher made the Spanish translation of the State Constitution) with those of Carbajal in 1835.

> On the organization of the permanent government of the Republic, he made the only official translation of the laws of Coahuila and Texas into English that has ever been made.[171] He long lived in Houston; filled various offices, wrote some useful essays, and in divers ways maintained an honorable position in the public mind.
>
> Early in the excitement he went to California, and the announcement of his death is the first we have heard of him for a number of years.

After all, here are the salient points, the permanent picture: with "sword and pen" George Fisher gave honorable service to the Lone Star flag.

The *San Francisco* Bulletin printed an obituary whose very length indicated George Fisher's local importance, though the biographical account—largely a reprint of Livingston's—gives us few new facts. The old adventurer's odyssey was in the past, and its Californian epilogue a quiet one. The writer's comments reflect the genuine respect in which he was held:

> The late George Fisher, who for some years before his death held the honorable position of Greek Consul at

> this port, and whose death . . . has been announced in the papers of the State, was a gentleman of sterling worth and unimpeached integrity, one whose life was so singular and interesting in its character and variety as to invest it with the elements of a romance. The greater portion of his years had been attended with so many personal perils that the manner of his death, which was peaceful, attended by the care of an affectionate wife and loving friends, and at the advanced age of seventy-eight years, seems to those who are familiar with his history almost miraculous.

Those, the article continues, who have known him in his later years and "observed his gentlemanly demeanor and blameless life," and especially the Greek residents of the state, "who manifest for him the greatest affection," will no doubt wish to preserve the reprint of the biographical account "published in Washington while he was Secretary of the Land Commissioners in this city in 1853." One implication is that in fast-living, hard-drinking San Francisco, to become a well-tempered man of seasoned age was in itself a wonder.

At the end comes the statement that Judge Fisher was "four times married and leaves children in the State of Mississippi but none here," and then the pious commonplace: "Throughout his whole career he lived a pure, temperate, blameless life." But if they had seemed completely inappropriate, the writer could have selected some quotation from Shakespeare other than the lines spoken by the sturdy and courageous old Adam of *As You Like It:*

> Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
> Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
> The means of weakness and debility;
> Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty, but kindly.

Because of the growth of the city, historic Laurel Hill cemetery was done away with a few years ago, and bodies from old graves were removed to other burying places. Those of George Fisher and of Caroline H. Fisher were moved in September, 1946 and

now rest in Laurel Hill Mound in Cypress Lawn Memorial Park in a suburban region adjacent to San Francisco. There one central shaft erected by the society which honors the California Pioneers serves as memorial to these early settlers—one of them being George Fisher.

Appendix A

Family Name and Birthplace of George Fisher

In the family Bible at "Twin Halls," at some time in the 1820's, and probably just before he went to Mexico in 1825, George Fisher entered his own birth record, and that of his children. He also recorded, on another page, his progress as a York Rite Mason in Washington Lodge, in Port Gibson.[173] Each time he wrote his own name he wrote in parentheses after it, "Alba Royal." He thus records his own name and birth:

> George Fisher (Alba Royal) born at Stuhlweissenburg Hungary—Europa—A.D. April 30—1795

Apparently he left no other such designations, and the words "Alba Royal" were long a mystery to his descendants. They would have remained so, but for Livingston's oddly worded remark that Fisher's native city

> has the honor to claim among its sons, the renowned Captain John Smith, celebrated for his single-handed conflict with three Turks, whom he slew (in the war between Turkey and Hungary), and subsequently made still more famous by the interposition of the noble Indian maiden, Pocahontas, for his salvation . . .

Reference to "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," an article by Dr. Laura Polyani Striker, reveals the secret.[174]

Captain John Smith on December 18, 1601 fought against Turks at "Stowllewesenburg," or (in the Magyar tongue) Szekesfeher-var and this ancient "princely" city where the Hungarian kings were married and buried, was Alba Regia, or Alba Regalis, both "white" and "royal." Whether or not the Hungarian princes too were called "white," in the way some Russians are "White Russians," remains obscure; it was a point mooted in

the 17th century.[175] At any rate it was *not* at Alba Regia, or Regalis, that Captain John Smith fought the three Turkish knights, cut off their heads and therefore was granted the Three Turks' Heads in his coat of arms. That series of chivalric encounters was said by him to have taken place at "Regall," which is Gulya-feher-var, or Weissenburg or Alba Julia, in Transylvania, nearer Bucharest.[176] But at the "circular" walled city of Stuhlweissenburg, of which there is an engraving in *Ortelius Redivivus et Continuatus* (Nuernberg, 1665), Captain Smith introduced the use of Venetian pyrotechnics. By catapulting "fiery dragons" —grenades made of pots filled with gunpowder and musket balls and covered with pitch—he spread terror among the Turks.

In the copies of Livingston's *Portraits of Eminent Americans* which we have examined, it is stated:

> The father of Mr. F. was a native of Burger—"Bolgar" in the Magyar language, and died during his infancy, leaving little besides his name to his son.

Available maps show no such town; but there is a "Polgar" quite near Szekes-feher-var. (The ancient and famous ruins of Bolgar, or Bolgary, must be sought some 1500 miles to the east, near Kazan, on the Volga). If we turn to the version of Livingston which was reprinted as obituary for George Fisher in the California papers in 1873, we find:

> The father of Mr. F. was also a native of the same city, and was a "Poger" in the Magyar, and "Burgher" in the German language (which in English means a citizen), and died during the infancy of his son, leaving him little besides his name.

This might come from a copy corrected by Fisher himself;[177] or it might come from the version which was published first, in periodical form, before Livingston collected his biographical sketches into volumes. At any rate, "Alba Royal" must have marked one as citizen of no mean city, even if one were not of Hungarian—that is, "Magyar"—blood.

Livingston could report only what George Fisher himself told him; no doubt he took his notes in haste, trying to keep pace with the energetic Mr. F., wrote them up later, and occasionally found himself confused or at a loss. But if Fisher told him what

name it was that the father left the son, he forbade the biographer to make it public. And there is no mention of the mother; was she also Serbian? Livingston says that "after the decease of his father" George "entered the college of Carlowitz." This town, Sremski Carlovici on the south bank of the Danube River, was in the district of Sclavonia, and not far from Belgrade; it was the Episcopal See of "His Excellency, Stephen Stratimirovitch, then Archbishop of the Greek Church in Austria." The "obituary version" emphasizes his political importance and power as

> . . . the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Greek Church in Austria, *ex officio* a member of the House of Magnates (House of Lords) of the Hungarian Diet (Parliament).

Livingston states, as we know, that George was of "Slavano-Servian" descent. The historians of the Balkan peoples, as they trace the complexities of their "blood," their languages, their political and religious allegiances, agree that Serbs and Croats were originally the same; that Croats became more "Austrian" and Roman Catholic, Serbs more "Hungarian" or even White Russian, and Orthodox. By administrative necessity, they were classed as "Greek" Orthodox; but after the 1830's Carlowitz was the headquarters of the Serbian Church, and after 1883 the Serbs were recognized as "Serbian" Orthodox, not "Greek." In George Fisher's youth the religious connection, through the Orthodox Church, made a tie between Serbs and Greeks, coinciding with the fact that both sought freedom from the Turks.

Later Serbian Archbishops were sometimes patriotic leaders; but Stratimirovitch apparently had little sympathy with the efforts of Karageorge ("Black George") Petrovitch to free Belgrade from the Ottoman overlords, and none with his runaway ward. Though the defense of Belgrade in 1813 was a failure, and Karageorge Petrovitch fled to Austria and then to Russia, Serbian efforts continued, and by 1817 Servia gained limited autonomy under suzerainty of the Sultan.[178] But by that time, as we know, George Fisher (Alba Royal) had opened a tavern and a tailor shop in Port Gibson, Mississippi, and had added English to his repertory of languages.

Under what surname he had been registered as a student and candidate for the Orthodox priesthood at Carlowitz, we do not yet know; we await with eagerness the information which Mr. Vlaho S. Vlahovic has been seeking.[179] During the two years of wandering through the Illyrian provinces along the Adriatic he was "George"—or possibly "Giorgi." Livingston says the disbanding of the Sclavonian Legion left the young adventurer alone, "his sword his only support—his courage his sole capital."

> With these he made his solitary way along the banks of the Danube, through a part of hostile Turkey, to Adrianople, along the Adriatic, and after many adventures, he again crossed the Austrian frontier, between Landscrone and Mittelwalde, in Austrian and Prussian Silesia; he resolutely pushes on through Breslau, Dresden, Magdeburg, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, to Amsterdam.

Let us remember that all this was in the years 1813-15, toward the end of the Napoleonic Wars. At Amsterdam, George embarked on the Dutch ship for Philadelphia; apparently he was still merely "George." Livingston then speaks of him as a "redemptionist, a person liable to be sold for his passage money." But under what circumstances he entered, or was forced, into this arrangement, is not told.

After telling the story of the escape from the ship, in the Delaware River, and the assumption of the name "Fisher" as of good omen, Livingston comments:

> It may have appeared strange to some, that the name of Fisher should be borne by one of Slavano-Servian descent, and we may as well inform the reader that it was not the patronymic of the subject of this notice. A poor orphan, escaping from the patronage of a powerful Archbishop, whose zeal for proselytism would have extended any means to have secured the deserter from the church, caused the ardent boy to use only his baptismal name; and afterward when an exile on a foreign shore, just liberating himself from a prison ship, the first word that greeted his ear was that of deliverance—viz., "Fishers," that is, "they are fishermen" (showing him to be unsuspected and consequently free). It was a

> pious and a grateful thought that prompted him to take the name . . . as an acknowledgement and remembrance of providential preservation.

This is clear enough. We know, too, that when in Mississippi he was naturalized as a citizen of the United States, he was not required to give any former "Sclavonian" name.

Then why, when he met John Lloyd Stephens in Yucatan in 1841,[180] did George Fisher, in conversation on his citizenships in "many" republics, display Mexican credentials showing him to be a native of Belgrade, province of Servia, in the Ottoman Empire? Surely to anyone in Yucatan, or in Texas, or in Mexico (with the exception of Stephens) the difference between Stuhlweissenburg and Belgrade would be of slight importance; but why had Fisher ever given the "false" name and birthplace? That he had given them in Mexico is inferred; the papers Stephens apparently saw it on were in Spanish. Livingston's labored explanation only darkens obscurity. He says that after young George renounced the authority of the Archbishop, "he declined the name he then bore." Then, after the defeat of the Serbians at Belgrade (in 1813),

> he was compelled to pass as a Turkish subject, otherwise he would not have been allowed to have left the Austrian territory; and as it had then [But when? 1815?] become his fixed intention to seek a safer home in America, he was forced to resort to some strategem to successfully carry out his project.

This combines, or confuses, 1813 and 1815. Does Livingston mean to say that the nameless George got "papers" as a Turkish subject? What else could his "strategem" be? But how did he then become a "redemptionist" on a Dutch "prison" ship?

Livingston's next statement is even more of a "telescoping" of time and space:

> Hence the necessity of assuming the title of a Turkish subject, which sided still better with his views, as his forefathers had been under the rule of Turkey; and the Slavano-Servian language having been his vernacular, he could easily pass as a Servian and a subject of the

> Grand Sultan; and this is why he gave the name of "Ribar" . . .

If we stop right here, the situation will seem clear enough: George must have given the name "Ribar" to the guards on the frontier between Austria and Germany in 1815, not long before embarking for America, at the same time giving Belgrade in Servia as birthplace, with (consequently) citizenship in the Ottoman Empire. His alternative would have been to give Stuhlweissenburg in Hungary, with citizenship in Austria-Hungary—for which, no doubt, he would have needed "papers" under his true name, and his true name would have led him back to the Archbishop. The only two contradictions so far are that Livingston has said George used "only his baptismal name" during the two years of wandering, and that he would acquire the name "Fisher" *not* as a translation of "Ribar" but as a lucky break upon arrival, later, in Philadelphia. But let us now allow Mr. Livingston to complete his sentence. He says, ". . . this is why he gave the name of 'Ribar' to MR. STEPHENS"! We are not with the Austrian guards in 1815 between Landscrone and Mittelwalde, but with Stephens and Catherwood in Merida, Yucatan in 1841! We are, in fact, in bewilderment.

Must George Fisher still keep "Ribar, native of Belgrade" upon his papers, twenty-eight years after he escaped from the college at Carlowitz? What is it that still binds or endangers him? Even if he had, once long ago and far away, passed himself off as a Turkish subject in order to get out of Austria and start for America, he had been free for ten years in the United States, most of this time in Mississippi—where he had recorded his true birthplace, and had never used the name "Ribar." When he went to Mexico, did he revert to being "Ribar of Belgrade"? Or, was it not in Mexico that he first used those terms?

Let us examine once more what John Lloyd Stephens saw in George Fisher's voluminous pocket-files that evening in the home of Donna Micaela:

> Mr. George Fisher, as appeared by his various papers of naturalization, was "natural de la ciudad y fortaleza de Belgrada, en la provincia de Servia del Imperio Ottomano," or "a native of the city and fortress of Bel-

> grade, in the province of Servia, in the Ottoman Empire."[180]

"Various papers of naturalization" could not include copies of the ones he took out in Port Gibson, though he may have had those also—he took pains, in the copies of Livingston's article which he bound into his *Memorials* in 1858, to make a footnote stressing the fact of his naturalization in the "State of Mississippi, County of Claiborne, Circuit Court, April term, 1822." The only papers Stephens saw were in Spanish; the phrase means "various papers having to do with his Mexican naturalization and citizenship." (Texan ones, if the Republic required any, could have been in both Spanish and English; if so, they might have duplicated the older Mexican ones, in these essential points.) Stephens does not quite state that "Ribar" was written into these Mexican papers, but he seems to mean that it was—that he glimpsed it there and inquired about it, and that Fisher then explained it as the Slavonic original of "Fisher."[181]

Twelve years later, Livingston is mainly concerned that Fisher should have given one "origin" of the surname to Mr. Stephens, another to himself. He wants to defend his own accuracy as a biographer, and to extenuate a mild and justifiable mendacity on the part of Fisher. He quotes Stephens's remark that George Fisher had some personal interest in the success of Yucatan's revolt against Santa Anna, for "should Santa Anna regain the ascendancy, the climate would be altogether too warm for him." This apparently explains (for Livingston) why George Fisher "gave the name of 'Ribar' to Mr. Stephens." It didn't hurt Stephens and it protected Fisher. All one need do, apparently, is to substitute Santa Anna for Archbishop Stratimirovitch, and let time and space shift for themselves:

> Which fully accounts for Mr. Fisher's desire *not to be traced through any name known to his enemies;* and thus we hope we have satisfactorily explained any difference that may have appeared between our humble sketch and Mr. Stephens' statement.

Well, the italics are ours, and the hope is Livingston's.

The first trouble with all this is that Stephens had said that Fisher's "Sclavonic" name, "Ribar," would be "Fischer" in Ger-

man, and that he had been called "Fischer" at school in Austria. So then, if the arm of the Archbishop (now deceased), had been long enough to reach through the years and beyond the bournes of Carlowitz, or of Sclavonia, or of Austria, or of death, here was the perfect clue for the detection of runaway George (now forty-six years old). For real protection, Fisher should have taken a new name, *not* one known at school in Austria, or not so easily translated into the one known there. The second trouble is, that during his two years of wandering he used only his "baptismal name." The third is, that while it is true that "Ribar" is the equivalent of "Fisher" (the 16th century Serbian poet Hectorovitch wrote a famous poem called "Ribanye," or "Fishing, and Talking with Fishermen"), we would here have a miraculous coincidence: a boy, already called "Fischer" at school, runs away to America and *there* is providentially saved from recapture by being called "fisher" by a bystander. Coincidences are, of course, possible, but. . . . Last, who, in Yucatan in 1841, were Fisher's enemies who would be able to "trace" him through his true Alba Royal name? If anyone in Mexico or Texas wished to punish, harm, or detain him, all they had to do was to catch him first, and then hold him as George Fisher. If he still had enemies in Austria. . . . Here we get lost again.

And so the discrepancies remain. Livingston widened them by trying to explain away what Stephens had reported. On the name "Ribar" Livingston says:

> Now Mr. Stephens was correct, as far as he had been informed, Mr. Fisher having been his informant; but the reason why he gave him this name and derivation, was because it was not *then* [in 1841] expedient to reveal the whole truth in relation to his name, and his statement could not injure Mr. S[tephens] whilst it shielded himself.

"Ribar" shielded Fisher from *what?*

Livingston's final implication is that in Yucatan in 1841 it would have been dangerous to disclose to anyone the true name and birthplace of George Fisher; but now, in 1853, all may be revealed. But all is *not* revealed—only the true birthplace, and the true story of how young George became "Fisher" when he escaped from the Dutch ship near Philadelphia in the fall of 1815.

Livingston "features" the fact that the Secretary of the California Land Commission is "George Fisher of Hungary." But if he was informed of the true name, he was not allowed to publish it. He skips it.

George Fisher's descendants may venture this observation: He was held on the "prison" ship as a "redemptionist." Though it is not clear what a Dutch captain expected to do with a "Turkish" runaway, or stowaway,[182] and though sometimes, in the past, "redemptionists" had been prisoners, or men convicted for misdemeanors, it cannot be charged that George had, during his "many adventures" in 1813-15, been found guilty of any crime, or that he had escaped from prison anywhere. If he had "got into trouble" during that time, would he have done so as the escaped theological student from Carlowitz? That is, under his true name? Rather, it would have been easy for the authorities to identify him as one of the many demobilized Serbian revolutionaries, followers of "Black George." There was no need, then, in America, for him to hide his true name and take a new one in the way that an escaped prisoner or criminal would have to. George Fisher did not "tell all" to Livingston; but it does not seem likely that he was hiding anything of this sort.

We do not know, then, why he would never, even to his family in Mississippi, give his true family name. But as to why his credentials read as they did in Yucatan in 1841, we offer this suggestion:

With a state of war still continuing between Texas and Mexico; with the Mexican Federalists still opposing Santa Anna when they could; with President Lamar's Santa Fé Expedition "invading" an unexpectedly unfriendly New Mexico; and with the Texas Navy in a shaky "alliance" with the rebels of Yucatan, Fisher was on some sort of secret mission there. It was so secret (or so unimportant?) that we do not know whether he was making his "observations" for the Republic of Texas, for Commodore Moore, or for himself as a sort of free-lance commentator—though he was working patriotically in the interests of Texas. It was probably a very good idea for him to carry his old Mexican "papers." They consisted of the passport, naturalization papers, and certificate of citizenship which had figured so prominently

in his banishment in 1835, and which for some reason he omitted from both the *Memorials* of the Tampico Expedition and the "Biographical Sketches" lately presented to President Lamar. They remained in his wallet, and in Yucatan they might serve as more than conversation pieces. Fisher was there with no regular commission from the Texas Navy, or any other department of the government. President Lamar had leased the Navy to Yucatan; President Sam Houston thought it had no business there. Suppose one of Commodore Moore's war schooners had been captured with Fisher on board. Or suppose that Fisher, on his solitary journey into the "interior" had been captured and turned over to Mexican authorities. As a private citizen of the Republic of Texas, voluntarily keeping the Secretary of State "advised," Fisher could not easily have explained his presence, and his situation might have been precarious. His old Mexican credentials might be exactly the most useful ones he could have; they were of long standing, well stamped, "in order." Yucatan, though in process of a halfhearted revolution, was still "officially" a part of Mexico, and provincial officials hardly knew whether to make any changes or not. Stamped paper was always effective.

Let us recall that George Fisher's papers, ever since the uproar over his banishment in 1835, were very well known indeed in official circles in Matamoros and in Mexico City. They had, in fact, brought about the insurrection of Vital Fernandez, Governor of Tamaulipas. Editor Fisher had attacked Governor Fernandez as a tool of Santa Anna. Fernandez had sent to the capital for Fisher's passport, ordered him to be banished, and directed Commandante General Cos to throw him out of Tamaulipas and Mexico. Fisher challenged the right of the governor of a state to send for the passport of a citizen of the Republic, or to give orders to a Commandante representing the "Supreme" Government; General Cos saw the point. Soon the quarrel in Tamaulipas, as in other states, was between the two executives,[183] state government against national, and Governor Fernandez "declared" against Dictator Santa Anna—whose "acting president" got Fisher banished anyway. The point here is that the "papers" of George Fisher, carried back and forth several times between Matamoros and Mexico City by "special express," had been well

noted. Another point: Fisher and Cos had last viewed each other inside the camp on Galveston Island in 1836, when Cos, as prisoner of war after San Jacinto, had been "half crazy," and Fisher, as "observer," had been amused. In 1841 the rehabilitated general would no doubt have been happy to exchange roles. And there were others. Fisher still had "enemies" enough in the Centralist Government of Mexico. But how could the wording, "Ribar, native of Belgrade," serve to protect him from them?

It could, if it were known as part of his regular dossier. Or rather, to make any alterations in such documents is *never* "expedient." It was actually impossible for him to have substituted at that late date his true "Sclavonian" name, and true (Hungarian) birthplace. Nor, much as he may have liked Mr. Stephens, was there any reason for Fisher to confide to him, in conversation, the long-kept secrets of his faraway youth—and especially not, since this best-selling author, widely read in both Europe and America, would soon have any interesting tale in public print. The "Ribar" had caught Stephens's quick eye. . . . Oh, yes, certainly, yes, that meant "fisher," and had been Fisher's former name. . . . Where German was spoken, it would be almost the same word—"Fischer" and "Fisher"? . . . Fisher may now have laughed and allowed, yes, that would be the case in Germany or in Austria. . . . "You went to school in Austria, you said?" "Yes, in Austria." In some such way, perhaps, the vague little anecdote got into Stephens's notes, to emerge later into neat form and clear print.

But the basic problem remains: when and why did George Fisher *first* state that his former name was "Ribar"? We suggest that he may have done so in 1829 when he was naturalized, in Zavala's State of Mexico, in the stirring "Yorkino" period. In Port Gibson he had been required merely to renounce former allegiances and to swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States. But in Mexico, ever revolutionary but ever bureaucratic, he had to be specific on former name, birth, citizenship. Federalist Fisher may well have given the data which corresponded to his first military service in the Cause of Freedom—the defense of Belgrade. The true facts of Balkan birth and citizenship may have seemed both complicated and irrelevant. Former name?

If in the New World he had never yet given his true family name, he would think twice or thrice before giving it now. Besides, how explain about escaping from his training as a priest (even an Orthodox one) to those about to enroll him as a Roman Catholic? Asked to explain how he got an "anglo" name like "Fisher," how should he tell the fantastic story about three men in a boat being mistaken for "fishers"? At best it sounded like a folk tale, at worst it was a mutiny. George Fisher probably did what any rational officials would consider normal: he supplied the "Sclavonic" form which was equivalent to "Fisher," the name he had been using for some ten years. But then "Ribar, native of Belgrade," once used in the Mexican records, had to be adhered to in Mexico forever after.

The above suggestion is offered as a probability. It could only be tested by an examination of George Fisher's original papers of naturalization, in the State of Mexico, for oddly enough, he did not leave either originals or copies of these important "documentations" for us. Incidentally, it was in 1829, through the Treaty of Adrianople, that the Serbs, under the leader who succeeded Petrovitch, had just won complete autonomy for Serbia. George Fisher may have felt an identity with them.

We cannot explain why Livingston both suggests and denies that the youthful George used the name "Ribar" in Europe, unless he simply became confused; or (more important) why our ancestor never revealed our true name. We can see that if he did not do so at the first, it would have been awkward to do so after he was a husband and father, "established" in Mississippi. Besides, that was the past; in the New World he became a new personage—George Fisher. Still, for his family record, in the family Bible, he did record the connecting link between his two worlds when he wrote "George Fisher (Alba Royal)."

Appendix B

Some Records of George Fisher, Early and Late

1.

The family Bible long at "Twin Halls" had been handed down to Eugene Sue Fisher, son of Hiram Fisher, and then to Eugene

Henry Fisher, his son (and Hiram Fisher's grandson). When the building of Stone and Fort Mercantile Co. in Dunleith, Miss., where this grandson worked, was burned in 1920, the old Bible was destroyed. Many members of the family had examined the records often, and had discussed them. They remember that the earlier entries were in the handwriting they supposed to be George Fisher's; many of the later ones were in Hiram's. As in most such pages, the entries had been filled into the prepared columns: births, marriages, deaths, events.

A partial transcript had been sent on January 8, 1918 to Ione (Fisher) Parmenter, in Orange Park, Florida; she had been interested in tracing the genealogy of the Davis family. As it is difficult to approximate here the original spacing upon the old pages, of which we cannot now be certain, the transcript is here copied. Those entries which we are sure were made by George Fisher himself are here put into italics. Where he wrote the birth date, and someone else added the date of death, there may have been an arrangement into two columns; his wife's birth may not have been placed with her parents' deaths.

George Fisher (Alba Royal) born at Stuhlweissenburg Hungary—Europa—A.D. April 30—1795.

George Fisher (Alba Royal) and Elizabeth Davis—married at Port Gibson, Mississippi Oct. 8—1818

Margaret Fisher born July 5—1819 at Port Gibson Miss.
Died Sept. 4—1821 at Reubin Davis Residence at Big Sand Miss.

Hiram Fisher born May 19—1821 at Port Gibson Miss.
Died at his home at Hall's Ferry Miss. Dec. 19—1884.

George Fisher Jr. born July 15—1823 at Big Sand, Claiborne Co. Miss.
Died at Cayuga Hinds Co. Miss.

John Fisher born Sept. 5—1825 at Big Sand Miss. Claiborne Co.
Died at Utica Miss.

Maria Louisa Fisher born Nov. 28—1830. Died Dec. 14—1840.

Then, presumably as the first entries in the Deaths column George Fisher recorded those of the Davises:

Reubin Davis of Somerset Co. Maryland died May 22—1821.
Sarah Davis died June 11—1828.

He must have made these entries when he came home from Mexico in 1828, summoned by subpoena.

With them, in the transcript, is placed:

Elizabeth Davis, daughter of Reubin & Sarah Davis was born at Salisbury Maryland March 27—1795.
Died at her Big Sand home Claiborne Co. Miss.

It seems odd that if Hiram recorded the place of his mother's death, he omitted the date.

Under Events George Fisher led off with his Masonic activities:

George Fisher (Alba Royal) initiated as Entered aprentice into the Misteries of Free and Accepted Masons, on the 10th of October 1818 in Washington Lodge No. 3 under the Grand Lodge of Mississippi.

Oct. 1818—Passed as Fellow Craft.

1818 Raised to the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason.

1818 Received as a member of Washington Lodge No. 3.

June 24—1819—Installed as the Tyler of Washington Lodge No. 3.

An accompanying note addressed to Ione (Fisher) Parmenter is signed "M.B.F."—Mary B. (Shaifer) Fisher, daughter of George W. H. Shaifer, and wife of Louis Clarke Fisher, or Ione's "Sister Molly Fisher." It reads:

> Your Grand Mother Fisher and her Parents. All evidently died at their home in Big Sand. They lived near my Shaifer Grand Parents in Port Gibson & were close friends. Grandfather also belonged to Washington Lodge No. 3 of Port Gibson . . . & I am sure was a charter Member . . . M. B. F.

Here the emphasis was not on George Fisher but on the Davises.

2.

After section XII, "San Francisco: End of Many Journeys," had been completed, the following verification of the inferences in regard to the date of George Fisher's fourth marriage was received.

That is, the marriage occurred before the date of the census of 1860, as this transcript shows:[184]

U. S. Census 1860. July 21st, 1860. San Francisco County, California (page 349. 10th District (page 184).

Dwelling Enumeration #1575						
Family Enumeration #1602					Value of Real Estate	Personal Property
	Age	Sex	Occupation	Birthplace		
Herman Youst	30	M.	Carpenter	Penna.		
Catherine Youst	33	F.		Ireland		
Ellen Youst	3	F.		Calif.		
Catherine Youst	2	F.		"		
George Fisher	63	M.	Lawyer	Hungary	$10,000	$200
Caroline Fisher	42	F.		Ohio		
Catherine	50	F.	Servant	Bavaria		

First, we note that George Fisher's birthplace is correct, but his age is wrong; in 1860 he would have been 65. Next, we learn that Caroline (the H. is omitted) was born in Ohio, and we note that her age is given correctly. Although Fisher owns real estate, he and his wife seem to be living with the Youst family, not in a home of their own. Perhaps that indicates that the marriage is recent. The nameless Catherine may or may not be related to the two men who are listed as next door, Dwelling Enumeration #1574. They are C. Ringel, an assayer, born in Austria, and Alex Heirnstein, a miner, born, as is the servant Catherine, in Bavaria. Perhaps George Fisher had a chance to speak German again, instead of Spanish.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1843), I, 84-86, and II, 363-364. See below, pages 73-82, and Note 3.

2. John Livingston, "George Fisher, Secretary and Translator to the California Land Commission," *Portraits of Eminent Americans Now Living,* 4 vols. (New York: Cornish, Lamport and Co., 1853-54), III, pages 441-446. See below, pages 103-107, and 125-136, and Note 150.

3. Livingston, *loc. cit.,* page 446, calls Fisher "perhaps the best linguist living," since "he is a Greek and Latin scholar, and in addition to a knowledge of the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Moravian, Slovack, Croatian, Dalmatian, and the language of the Montenegrini, speaks with fluency the following tongues: his vernacular, the Slavano-Servian, the Hungarian or Magyar, the German, the English, the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Italian."

4. See below, page 127.

5. Stephens says he sailed from Hamburg.

6. At present it is premature to do more than drop this hint. We await with eagerness the publication of a book by Mr. Vlaho S. Vlahovic of New York which may give us information on the origins and early life of George Fisher. Mr. Vlahovic in 1952 attended a reunion of the Fisher family in Cayuga, Hinds Co., Miss. With Lawrence E. Mallette and others he visited the site of the old Fisher (or Davis) cemetery near Reganton, on the Big Black River, in Claiborne Co., and he has at times corresponded with Mr. Mallette, and with Mary F. Parmenter.

7. Research on county records in Texas and in Mississippi, and in the State Archives in Austin, Tex., and in Jackson, Miss., has been done by Walter Russell Fisher, here and throughout.

8. George Fisher himself recorded his progress as a York Rite Mason in Port Gibson by writing it in the Fisher family Bible. See Appendix B.

The records of the Port Gibson Lodge prior to 1867 were destroyed. Reference to a copy of the Port Gibson *Southern Reveille* for May 9, 1859, on file in the State Archives, shows:

> Washington Lodge, chartered as No. 17 by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, and registered as No. 3 by Mississippi, was chartered Jan. 8, 1820, and located in Port Gibson. The first officers were Israel Loring, Master; Claudius Gibson, Senior Warden; James Hughes, Junior Warden; George Fisher, Sentinel and Tyler. . . .

A volume in the State Archives, *Fraternities, Societies, Civic and Religious Organizations of Claiborne County,* gives further data. It shows that George Fisher was accepted as Apprentice on Oct. 10, 1818, and as Second Degree Mason on Nov. 17, 1818.

9. State of Miss., Claiborne Co. Superior Court, April Term, 1822. Vol. 3, page 86.

10. George Fisher's various commercial enterprises can be traced through such notices in the Port Gibson and Natchez newspapers now in the State Archives. Though he went to Mexico in 1825, his name occurs until 1828-29.

11. The primary source for the birth dates of the Fisher children is the Fisher family Bible. See Appendix B, page 136.

12. Stephen A. Larrabee, *Hellas Observed: The American Experience of Greece, 1775-1865* (New York University Press, 1957), pages 66-68. The massacre in Chios in April, 1822 brought out meetings of public indignation in New York, in Washington—and in Natchez. Larrabee cities the circular letter, or Manifesto, by George Fisher, whom he calls a "native of Serbia," and says that Fisher sent copies from Natchez to Thomas Jefferson and to other leading figures. See Note 168.

Because Fisher signed articles with the pen-names "Grecus," and "Greco-Americanus," (and used the phrase, "Greci Ritus Non Unitus,"), he was sometimes thought to be a native of Greece. The Serbian Orthodox Church was, of course, closely affiliated with the Greek Orthodox.

13. Nathaniel E. Stephenson, *Texas and the Mexican War: A Chronicle of the Winning of the Southwest* (Yale University Press, 1921), Vol. 24 in the Chronicles of America, a series edited by Allen Johnson, gives a succinct account of these disputed episodes.

14. Freemasonry, as a nucleus for political and philosophical ideas, increased tremendously throughout the world in the 18th century. In France, and elsewhere upon the Continent, the secrecy of the international order identified it with "revolutionary" activities against Church and State. In the British Isles and in the United States it was broadly benevolent, in the name of the "Brotherhood of Man." But in Mexico it was completely political.

15. "Royalists" were numerous within Army and Church, and were always anti-American. Politically, they merged with Centralists.

Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana (1795-1876) was in power, as President, or as Dictator, or as General of the Army behind someone else, for perhaps eight times in his almost forty active years, and was put down as often. His last real triumph was in 1855.

16. Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (University of California Press, 1914), in Chapters IV-VI, traces the efforts of Poinsett under Pres. J. Q. Adams, and of Anthony Butler under Pres. Andrew Jackson.

J. Fred Rippy, *Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American* (Duke University Press, 1935), in Chapters VIII-IX, gives an account of Poinsett's adventures in Mexico, in Russia, and in South America. He does not mention George Fisher.

17. In his "Denunciation of Poinsett Because of His Relations with the York Masons," Chapter VI of his *Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1918), William R. Manning presents this view. He is favorable to Poinsett, the brilliant South Carolinian who was later U. S. Senator, and Secretary of War. Since Poinsett tried to remain in the background, it is quite likely that he was glad for George Fisher to seem to take the lead in founding lodges.

Letts cites an article, "Freemasonry in Mexico," *Masonic Review* for Aug. and Oct., 1858, published in Cincinnati, a copy being bound into the University of Texas copy of George Fisher's *Memorials.*

James David Carter, *Masonry in Texas: Background, History, and Influence to 1846* (Waco: Committee on Masonic Education and Service for Grand Lodge of Texas, A. F. and A. M., 1955), credits the above article to George Fisher. It is signed "Desaguliers," to whom Fisher is supposed to have furnished information. It furnishes evidence of the political misuse of the Masonic lodges by the Mexicans. See Note 157.

18. Lorenzo de Zavala (1789-1836) was born ~~in Spain,~~ and grew up in Merida, Yucatan. He was a student of the works of Jefferson, a fighter for Liberty and Enlightenment through education and social reforms. At the setting up of the government of the Republic of Mexico, his was the first name signed to the Constitution of 1824. Through various vicissitudes, Zavala remained a Mexican Federalist. In 1836 he served as Vice-President in the *ad interim* government of Texas.

19. Livingston cannot be referring to Poinsett's well known *Notes on Mexico Made in the Autumn of 1822: Accompanied by an Historical Sketch of the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1824; London, 1825), as this was written and published before Fisher went to Mexico. It may well be that Poinsett had employed Fisher to collect material for a further study which was not published.

In 1846 *DeBow's Commercial Review,* II, 27-42, 165-177, carried articles by Poinsett on Mexico, based on older material then made timely by the Mexican War.

20. The article "Mexico," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition, 1911), conveniently outlines these complexities.

They are given in full by George Lockhart Rives, *The United States and Mexico* (1821-1848), 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), I, Chapter VII, "Mexican Politics, 1824-1830." Rives gives character sketches of the leading figures.

Guerrero, Grand Master of the Yorkinos, was the grizzled "hero" of the Revolution against Spain, of great personal courage. An uneducated Indian half-breed, he was unable to administer government or to grasp ideas.

Bustamente was well educated; had served in the army of Spain; and his desire to establish a military despotism was prompted by his belief that only thus could he preserve civilization (and the Church).

Alamán, Secretary of Foreign Relations in 1830, with European education, a real "intellectual," became author of an authoritative history of Mexico. He saw Texas as the complex problem it was, but hoped Mexico could keep control of it for some years.

21. George Fisher was summoned home in 1828. His father-in-law, Reuben Davis, had died in 1821. Now his mother-in-law had died also, as well as two Davis heirs, and the remaining heirs were making certain settlements in regard to the family property. Fisher was cited in a Subpoena dated Nov. 10, 1828 and addressed to several of the heirs, to appear "in right of his wife" before the Judge of the Probate Court of Claiborne Co. See below, page 173.

He must have then returned to Mexico and been naturalized there.

22. Eugene C. Barker, "Stephen F. Austin and the Independence of Texas," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly,* XIII, 4 (April, 1910), 257.

Professor Barker, long head of the Department of History at the University of Texas, was a leading authority on Texas history. In this and other writings on the Texas Revolution, he shows the Law of April 6, 1830 as the first cause of conflict. By it the Centralists hoped to contain or control the *americanos* while they were still too few and too weak to revolt.

23. Translated into English by Geraldine Ortiz, Florida State University, Tallahassee, from the Spanish text in the *Austin Papers* ed. E. C. Barker. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1919 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), II, 330.

The letter to Zerecero is cited by Letts from the Manning Transcripts, Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores, 1830, in the University of Texas Library.

24. W. S. Cleaves, "Lorenzo de Zavala in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI (1923-33). He left Mexico on May 25, 1830.

Zavala as Empresario did not own the land, and could not legally sell it outright; an empresario was an agent or contractor who agreed to bring in a certain number of families within a specified time. His nominal fees scarcely paid the expenses of surveying, executing papers, keeping records. He was given a "reward" in land, and expected to share in the successful development of his colony; but he was not to speculate or bring undue pressure upon colonists. His was an almost impossible assignment, and few empresarios besides Stephen F. Austin (with Samuel M. Williams) ever succeeded in it.

Zavala (with Fisher) could have registered many of the squatters already in East Texas, Fisher thought. But Zavala lacked capital and had now lost political backing. The new Law of April 6 forbidding further U. S. settlers, Zavala gave over his contract to the New York company and then, in Europe, made some effort to find colonists; but the contract was never fulfilled, and Zavala probably never meant to carry it through.

The articles, "Mexican Colonization Laws, 1821-1830," and "Land Grants," in the *Handbook of Texas,* II, give pertinent facts. The federal Congress of Texas passed the national colonization law on Aug. 18, 1824.

This law and the state law of Coahuila-Texas of March 25, 1825, became the basis of all colonization contracts affecting Texas, except Austin's first contract. The national law surrendered to the states most authority over colonization; hence the great desire of Texas to become a state, separate from Coahuila. Empresarios had six years in which to carry out contracts.

25. E. C. Barker, "Development of the Texas Revolution," Chapter XVI in his *Readings in Texas History* (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1929). A federal act of September, 1823 exempted colonists for seven years from duties on "necessities," but this exemption was nearing expiration, and Austin did not know what the new situation would be. The Mexican Government did not clarify the workings of the new Law of April 6.

It remained forbidden, in any case, to bring in tobacco from Cuba, or Negroes brought from Africa to the Havana slave market and then relayed secretly for sale in Texas. Confusion as to legitimate imports bred contempt for laws against "contraband," and even the respected leaders in San Felipe and Brazoria ignored, at times, all Mexican tariff regulations. The alleged lawlessness of Texans in this respect, held against them in their desire for more local self government, became a sore point with Stephen F. Austin.

26. Fisher wrote a full explanation to Terán on July 27, 1830. Letts cites Barker Transcripts, Guerra, Fraccion I, Legajo 7, 1836, University of Texas Library.

27. Letts cites Barker Transcripts, Relaciones, Asuntos Varios, 1830-1834, caja 2, University of Texas Library.

28. *Austin Papers,* II, 455. Trans. by Ortiz.

29. E. C. Barker, "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXII, 2 (October, 1918), 180 and ff.

30. *Austin Papers,* II, 483. Trans. by Ortiz.

Also, E. C. Barker, "The African Slave Trade in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* VI, 1 (July, 1902), 145-158. The pirate Lafitte had had a flourishing trade in "Africans" in Galveston Bay before 1821, when the new Republic of Mexico prohibited slavery and the slave trade. But the traffic was for years practiced secretly and profitably. Stephen F. Austin tried to believe that it did not continue. In 1832 (apparently just at the time George Fisher was being forced to resign; see Note 62.) "three prominent citizens" landed a shipload of African Negroes at Galveston. Barker, writing some seventy years later, says: "It is thought best to withhold the names." Only about ten months after that, the Second Convention on Statehood, April, 1833, was inspired by the current arrival of a shipload of African slaves to form a resolution condemning the practice.

This illicit trade, for the secret acquisition of new slaves, was not the same as the bringing in of slaves already owned in the U. S. This was condoned as a "necessity," and the slaves were listed as "indented servants." Austin was inconsistent: he thought slavery wrong in principle, but he

knew his agricultural colony could not raise sugar, rice, or cotton without it.

31. In their correspondence, Austin and Terán, who had seldom met, take the attitude that they are confidential friends trying to work out administrative and ethical problems which they alone understand. Yet on June 3, 1830 Henry Austin wrote from Matamoros warning Stephen that Gen. Terán was "known" to be planning Stephen's removal, as dangerous to security. Living as they did amidst rumor and uncertainty, both Terán and Austin became suspicious and anxious, sensitive, neurotic.

32. Barker, "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento . . . ," *op. cit.,* 275, ff.

To her biography, *Samuel May Williams (1795-1858)* (Galveston: Rosenberg Library Press, 1956), Ruth G. Nichols appends a calendar of all of Williams' carefully written documents, records, and letters. Many, dated 1830, refer directly to George Fisher's administration of the customs, and to the ensuing train of events.

33. San Felipe disagreed with Saltillo on the expulsion of four delegates (ones favorable to Texas) from the joint Legislature. For at least some of the documents in question, see *Austin Papers,* II, 499.

The "Minutes . . ." include a list, *op. cit.,* page 353. There seem to be nine "originals" and fifty-four "copies." It is hard to judge now which one, or ones, may have been "most important."

34. *Austin Papers,* II, 512, dated Oct. 18, 1830. After "exposing" Fisher's bad character, Austin gives details of his attempt to purloin the papers, and explains that San Felipe had merely considered Saltillo's actions unconstitutional.

35. Letts cites Barker Transcripts, Relaciones, Asuntos Varios, 1830-1834, caja 2, University of Texas Library.

36. *Austin Papers,* II, 512 ff. Trans. by Ortiz. Bustamente had been Vice-President; after he executed Guerrero he acted as President.

37. The Ayuntamiento decided on Oct. 18 to have the minutes of Oct. 5 and of Oct. 16 printed in the *Gazette,* copies then to be sent to the Chief of the Department (Ramon Musquiz had just taken that office), and to Commandante General Mier y Terán, "for the purpose of showing them the causes of removal of George Fisher, and his subsequent conduct." The *Gazette* for Oct. 23 published the minutes, with an editorial on Fisher which concluded:

> These transactions will, no doubt, afford a salutary caution . . . to this colony, against future adventurers who may attempt to impose upon their generous and unsuspecting dispositions. While the inhabitants of this colony were in the wilderness, destitute of resources, and almost of hope, no one envied their situation. . . . now . . . speculators and adventurers, who are prowling and preying upon every inhabited spot on the globe will not let them pass unnoticed.

Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845, Part II, Mexican Imprints* (Harvard University Press, 1955), Vol. III, Item 769, de-

scribes Fisher's broadside "Extra." Extant copies of the *Advertiser of the Port of Matamoros* are in the Texas State Library and in the University of Texas Library.

That Fisher himself "had the management of the printing press" in Matamoros is shown below; see note 59.

38. *Austin Papers,* II, 598. Trans. by Ortiz.

39. *Ibid.,* 611.

E. C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville and Dallas: Cokesbury Press, 1925), pages 343-371, gives a full account of the long and disastrous dispute between Austin (with his partner, Williams), and Sterling C. Robertson. It went on for five or six years, through the Revolution and really until Austin's death, and much of the evidence is contradictory. It began in 1830 (the time George Fisher was ousted as Secretary), as a result of the Law of April 6, which annulled all contracts with empresarios who had not already settled at least 100 families upon a grant.

At the same time, Terán as Commissioner of Colonization for the "Supreme Government" was about to implement his plan to establish colonies of 500 Mexican families at Galveston, at Lavaca, and at Tenoxtitlan. Or perhaps he would have been ready, except that the various state governments would not cooperate. The Governor of Coahuila-Texas could still grant empresario contracts; and it seemed to the troubled Austin, in Saltillo for the coming legislative session, to be "best for Texas" for him [Austin] to control the vast area to the north of his borders—including Tenoxtitlan, perhaps.

Much of this "upper colony" had (perhaps) been granted to the so-called Nashville Company, with Sterling C. Robertson as empresario; yet he had made little effort to bring in any families, and his contract had been annulled. But he arrived in October, 1830 with nine families, and was now determined not to give up. A French company had applied for it. Robertson hoped that Austin would help him keep his rights. Later he discovered that the contract had been "secretly" obtained by Austin and Williams, who would settle 800 Mexican and foreign families upon it (immigration from the U. S. being prohibited by Article 11). Austin hoped this ruling would be repealed; meanwhile, he hoped to protect his northern borders, and benefit all of Texas. But Robertson turned against Austin, and gained some sympathizers.

To Williams on March 5, 1831 Austin wrote from Saltillo:

> I wish the B [oss] to take part in this. If he will, all is safe. I am operating on a pretty large scale for a taciturn and noiseless man, but I have no other object in view than the general prosperity of us all.

By "Boss" he may have meant Terán—or (more likely) [*Bus*] tamente.

All this is mentioned here to show that Austin's anxieties over the related problems of secret land deals and of contraband trade were tied in, in 1830-31, with fears that charges or disclosures by George Fisher would

injure him [Austin], and therefore jeopardize the future of Texas. Always, too, there were conflicts of interest and authority between Saltillo and Mexico City.

40. Streeter, *loc. cit.,* lists as Item 770 this *Guia del Pueblo,* Alcance al Num. 37 . . . Imprenta del estado de Tamaulipas, dirijida por Juan Antonio Aguirre, Ciudad Victoria. 1831. Fisher's statement concludes that the charges published in the *Texas Gazette* and spread by the captain of the Canõn are slanders prompted by a spirit of persecution directed against him because he supported the rights of the nation and of the people of the colonies in Texas.

41. Bradburn, a native of Kentucky, had been in Mexican government service since 1817 when he entered in Mina's "invasion." He fled to New Orleans from Anahuac in July, 1832; he returned to Texas with the Mexican Army in 1836. *Handbook of Texas,* I.

42. Barker, "The Development of the Texas Revolution," *loc. cit.,* pages 159-164.

43. The events here presented are traced by Edna Rowe, "The Disturbances at Anahuac in 1832," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* VI, 4 (April, 1903), 265-299.

Letts cites the official records and other original sources for the same period.

44. *Austin Papers,* II, 708.

45. Letts cites *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar,* III, ed. Charles A. Gulick, Jr., assisted by Katherine Elliott and Winnie Allen, Part I, 298.

46. *Ibid.,* 243.

47. Letts cites Barker Transcripts, Asuntos Varios, Relaciones Exteriores, 1830-1834, Comercio, University of Texas Library.

48. *Austin Papers,* II, 733; and 747.

49. Letts cites Horatio Chriesman, Alcalde, to the Political Chief, May 16, 1832, Bexar Archives, University of Texas Library. By this time, Ugartechea was building a fort at Velasco; he allowed a customhouse to be put at Brazoria.

On March 22 and on June 14 the Mexican consul at New Orleans had written to the Minister of Relations in Mexico City that Bradburn and Fisher were unpopular because they tried to be strict in enforcing the laws, and Americans look with evil eye on every officer who opposes violation of revenue laws—they have been so long accustomed to carry on contraband trade. Letts cites Barker Transcripts, Archivo General, Relaciones, 1806-1845, and Relaciones Exteriores, Asuntos Varios, Comercio.

50. Barker Transcripts, Guerra, Fraccion I, Legajo I, 1835 . . . .

51. On May 31 Terán wrote an *oficio* urging both Fisher and Ugartechea to be prudent until the arrival of Col. Piedras from Nacogdoches. Terán, judging from what Austin has told him, fears that Fisher might be assassinated; he orders him to Matagorda, then to Matamoros. Fisher

had probably reported the dangerous meeting called at Brazoria by John Austin on May 11, 1832. Branch T. Archer introduced a resolution proposing an attack upon the fort at Velasco; it failed to pass by one vote. Henry S. Foote, *Texas and the Texans,* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 19.

52. John Austin, no relation to Stephen F. Austin, but a friend and associate, was the founder of Brazoria. Prominent for cattle and shipping interests, and owner of the first cotton gin in Texas, he was (after 1831) port officer and Alcalde at Brazoria. The fact that he countenanced the "riots" and the refusal of the *Sabine* and other vessels to submit to regulations, made these acts appear planned as insurrections. It seems to have been John Austin who was especially hostile to George Fisher. Henry Smith was one of the first to advocate Independence for Texas.

53. A colonel of the Texas National Guard, Andrew Jackson Houston, in his *Texas Independence* (Houston: Anson Jones Press, 1938), states in his Chapter XXV, "Operations of the Texas Navy," that when Bradburn was besieged at Anahuac in 1832, three Texas schooners set up a close blockade. After Bradburn escaped, and the prisoners were released, this "fleet" sailed for Galveston and there "captured the customhouse, with the collector, Jorge Fisher, a Greek-Mexican, and his force."

Incidentally, other modern writers who have known of George Fisher only as the customs collector who would not "cooperate," refer to him casually as a "Serbian adventurer," a "quarrelsome Turk," and . . . worse. The implication is that all the other Old Timers in Texas were correct, or consistent, or (at the same time) able to be anti-Mexican and loyal to Stephen F. Austin.

54. As soon as Santa Anna raised this revolt against Bustamente, it became General Terán's duty to keep the Eastern Interior States from declaring for Santa Anna. When Vital Fernandez, the governor of Tamaulipas, raised the standard of revolt, Terán attacked Tampico; on May 13 Terán was defeated. On June 27 when Terán wrote to George Fisher that he would arrange for him to have a place in the customhouse at Matamoros, that city had already been seized by General Mexía—who had already given Fisher an appointment. Fisher replied, not knowing that Terán had by then killed himself.

55. *Austin Papers,* II, 807.

56. By this new and risky policy, into which Austin had been hustled, Texas had declared for a Mexican revolution. Luckily Santa Anna was successful, and Texas was safe, for a time.

57. Fisher went to Mexico City in August, 1832 and his services were accepted by Brig. Gen. Lemus. A compromise was reached between Bustamente and Santa Anna: Pedraza was to be President until elections could be held in April, 1833, enabling the Republic to return to the Federal system. Pedraza took the oath on Dec. 26. George Fisher was given the commission of carrying to the Fort of Chapultapec the plan to be followed; and the garrison did pronounce for Pedraza, Dec. 27, 1832. Fisher's

special passport and a certificate of appreciation from Gen. Lemus are in the Fisher Papers, Texas State Library.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Austin Papers,* II, 947-950.

This letter has recently been used "against" George Fisher by Streeter's comments upon it in his *Bibliography of Texas (1795-1845),* Part I, under his listing (as Item 384) of Fisher's *Memorials,* with which the letter has no connection. He identifies Fisher as a Hungarian by birth, whose real name is unknown, and then adds:

> A linguist, an adventurer with physical and mental courage, an intriguer, inordinately fond of seeing his name in print, almost a blackmailer [!], Fisher was one of the unusual characters who gravitated to Texas and enlivened its annals.

It is hardly "blackmail" to make no demands: Fisher says he could do harm, but has not; and he will never injure Texas. Perhaps the "almost" recognizes this. But Streeter then quotes from Austin's old letter of Oct. 16, 1830 to Alamán, in which the Empresario had called the reporter of contraband and copier of documents a "miserable adventurer without country or principles." Streeter remarks that though they had been "reconciled," Fisher's letter from Monclova shows that the reconciliation was "only upon the surface"! This is Fisher's point, exactly; Streeter's observation is an understatement. But Streeter does not pursue the subject farther, to Austin's profession of friendship for Fisher.

60. In the Lamar Papers, No. 1664, in the Texas State Library, George Fisher gives a *précis* of this *Exposée,* which he says was "on file in the Treasury Department," in Mexico City, in Spanish. He says it urged the Executive to present to Congress proposals for permitting the cultivation of tobacco in Texas; the opening of an inland waterway system connecting the Sabine River with the Brazos; the repeal of those revenue laws which prohibit necessities, by laying exorbitant duties on them; the establishment of post offices and post roads throughout Texas; building a line of military forts or blockhouses along the Rio Bravo del Norte to Taos, in order to check the Indians. Fisher's "results" would be the increase of commerce, to the benefit of both Texas and Mexico as a whole. Put in moderate duties, reasonably administered, and the trade which now goes to Missouri would flow through Texas to the interior, he says.

61. In Note 52, above, we have indicated that Fisher may have again been threatened by John Austin in 1832.

62. Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin, loc. cit.,* cites testimony brought out on behalf of Sterling C. Robertson's claim that Austin and Williams, having got the "Upper Colony" away from him, were acting not as empresarios but as speculators. It was being said that John Austin had bought out Stephen's interest; that Benjamin Fort Smith had bought from John Austin an interest of 1200 leagues; that the privilege of locating claims could be bought at fifty dollars a league. Barker states that much of this was true.

On May 31, 1833 Austin writes from Matamoros to Williams:

> Keep clear of speculations for the future. They are a curse . . . and will be a very sore curse to me individually. I believe they will ruin me if they have not already done so. Cursed be the hour I ever thought of applying for that upper colony.
>
> *Austin Papers,* II, 354.

Austin adds: "B. F. Smith's cursed foolish trip has done great harm and I am sorry he ever came to Texas."

Barker says that the shipload of African slaves which appeared off the coast just at the time of the Convention for Statehood in April, 1833 was probably Smith's. The article in the *Handbook of Texas* states that Benjamin Fort Smith, who had served as representative from Hinds Co. in the Mississippi Legislature, became a citizen of Texas in 1833, acquired extensive lands on the upper Brazos, and in 1833-34 brought in contraband "African" slaves from Cuba. His vessel being seized by Mexican authorities, half of his "cargo" was confiscated; but his remaining slaves were used in building fortifications during the Texas Revolution, in which Smith himself gave effective service. Under Gen. Thomas J. Rusk, Smith was adjutant general; he later held offices under the Republic.

The point here is not that prominent Texans did engage in the slave trade, or that Austin and Williams did not keep clear of land speculation —but that upon the eve of his mission to Mexico City in 1833, Austin was deeply disturbed over the possibility of these secret matters coming to light, to the detriment of the "cause" of statehood for Texas, and that he may have feared Fisher would be making "reports" on Texas to the new "liberal" government. As Monclova had in March been made the capital of Coahuila-Texas, where the conflicting claims of Austin and Robertson would be brought up in the Legislature, Fisher's presence there might in itself be disturbing. But in both San Antonio and Matamoros he heard that Fisher spoke only "good" of Texas.

63. Austin wrote the same official letter to the three ayuntamientos—San Felipe, Brazoria, Nacogdoches—and similar letters of recommendation to individuals. He sent the first three, and gave the others to Fisher himself to present, to John Austin and to a number of others. Since Fisher did not go back as collector, he never presented them; they are now in the Fisher Papers, in the Texas State Library. Also, see *Austin Papers,* II, 977-981. Fisher's *copies* of the letters are in Lamar Papers, No. 1664. See Note 70, below.

64. In his "Biographical Sketches . . . ," filed in Lamar Papers, No. 1664, Texas State Library, Fisher recounts his leaving Mexico City in March, 1833, going to Monclova to turn in his accounts, and returning to Matamoros in May to report to Gen. Filisola. (He does not mention Austin). Fisher tells of his appointment as Commissary General for War, and his removal at the instance of the Judge, and so on, to 1835. Fisher probably presented this account to Lamar in applying for a place on the Santa Fé Expedition in 1841. See Note 106.

65. Already Bustamente and some three hundred other Centralists had been sent into exile. But in 1834 many lately victorious Federalist "liberals" became suspicious of Santa Anna, resigned, and escaped. Zavala, who had returned from Europe in 1833, now went to Texas. Centralists began returning to Mexico.

66. Barker, "Stephen F. Austin and the Independence of Texas," *loc. cit.* Also, as always, his *Life of Stephen F. Austin, passim.*

M. B. Lamar, Lamar Papers, No. 1664, gives a sketch of George Fisher, written apparently some years later, and reflecting what had long been said. Of this episode:

> Austin was sent to Mexico by the Convention in 1833. Many were opposed to his being sent, having but little confidence in his fidelity. On his way . . . he went to Matamoros for the purpose of seeing Felisola who was then there with an army designed for Texas. Austin there found Fisher with Felisola, accomp [any] ing [him] as Collector of Customs again in Texas . . . Austin immediately writes a letter to his friends in Texas, stating that he had met Fisher at Matamoros; that he was coming on to enter upon the duties of his old office as Collector; that he believed Fisher was an injured and persecuted man; advised them to receive him kindly; as also the army of Filisola . . .
>
> This letter surprised everybody; and those who had been opposed to Austin's going to Mexico as an agent, threw it up at his friends, saying, "I told you, we always knew him a traitor."

Thereupon, Col. Coles wrote to Austin; and so on. Austin told Grayson and Jack that it was Coles' letter which had caused him to write the "strong" letter to Bexar which caused his arrest.

67. In his article on Stephen F. Austin in the *Handbook of Texas,* I, E. C. Barker states:

> Austin was arrested in Saltillo in January, under suspicion of trying to incite insurrection in Texas, and was returned to Mexico City. No charges were made against him; no court would accept jurisdiction of his case; and he remained a prisoner, shifting from prison to prison until December 1834, when he was released on bond, limited to the area of the federal district. In July, 1835 he was freed by a general amnesty law and at the end of August returned to Texas by way of New Orleans.

68. *Austin Papers,* II, 1036.

69. Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin,* pages 363-371, finishes and summarizes the long story. Austin was in prison; John Austin died; Williams took over. In February, 1834 the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe ruled that Robertson should be reinstated. In April, 1834 Robertson charged before the Legislature that Austin had made false statements in order to secure the Upper Colony for himself and Williams, his "partner in iniquity." Gov. Viesca gave a decision which voided Austin's claim. Later, the Legislature

restored it; but by that time the Revolution was beginning. In December, 1836, shortly before his death, Austin recounted the history of the original contract in a statement to the Senate of the Republic of Texas, in which Robertson sat as a member. Austin (then Secretary of State) said that he had sought to protect his borders against "foreign" empresarios or companies.

It was at this inopportune time that George Fisher importuned Austin in regard to the legal status of the Zavala colonization grant in the Nacogdoches region. See pages 61 and 65.

70. Lamar Papers, No. 1664, in the Texas State Library. This is No. 5 among six which Fisher labeled: "Copies of letters of Col. S. F. Austin to George Fisher collector of Galveston and Commissary of Matamoros, and to others in Texas. From Matamoros, Monterrey and his prison in the City of Mexico, in 1833—34 & 35—Original autographs in the possession of Geo. Fisher." See pages 40 and 72.

This letter is printed in *Austin Papers (Oct., 1834-Jan., 1837),* ed. E. C. Barker (Austin: University of Texas, 1927), III, 8-10.

71. In an editorial in his newspaper, the *Mercurio,* Nov. 27, 1834 George Fisher called upon Santa Anna's government to free Stephen F. Austin.

72. E. C. Barker, "Land Speculation as a Cause of the Texas Revolution," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* X (1906-1907). The article on "Land Speculation" in the *Handbook of Texas,* II, gives a general view.

The events leading to the Texas Revolution are given in many historical accounts. Many modern ones stem from Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas,* 2 vols. (New York, 1856), and from Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* 2 vols (San Francisco, 1884-1889).

See the article on Augustin Viesca in the *Handbook of Texas,* II.

73. One account of these events is Barker's "Development of the Texas Revolution," *loc. cit.* See also the article on Tenorio in the *Handbook of Texas,* II.

74. See the articles on Beales and on Grant in the *Handbook of Texas,* I. In 1840 Beales, a British subject, sought through the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, to regain lands. See below, Note 102, and Note 126.

75. Fisher's "Biographical Sketches . . . " in Lamar Papers, No. 1664, Texas State Library.

76. For George Fisher's *Memorials,* see below, note 157. In the "Explanatory Remarks" which preface Fisher's "Documents . . . Relative to the Expedition . . . Against Tampico," Fisher gives an account of his own efforts to oppose Santa Anna through his newspaper, his subsequent ejection from Mexico, and his joining the exiled Federalist leaders in New Orleans. He cites as Document No. 1 in his Section C, page 17, his editorial of No. 4, folio 16, *Mercurio de Matamoros,* of Nov. 27, 1834. In it Fisher quotes from the *Texas Republican,* a newspaper published in Braz-

oria, an article signed "Pedralto" which should warn the Supreme Government of Mexico of the state of affairs in Texas, that "precious part of the Mexican Republic." Editor Fisher urges that the Santa Anna government—that is, Santa Anna—now "bring to a speedy conclusion the prosecution of Col. Austin." He reminds it that Texan affairs and opinions have wide circulation in foreign countries, and says that the people of Texas should be informed of the Mexican authorities' manner of proceeding.

In a more amusing reversal, Fisher in an editorial of Dec. 11, 1834 defends the people of Tamaulipas, New Leon, and Coahuila-Texas against the charge of smuggling!

77. That is, Fernandez, who had as a "liberal" declared for Santa Anna, was still trying to serve his (now changed) policy. Soon—with Congress disbanded on May 31, 1834, and many state legislatures replaced with Centralists appointed from "above,"—many governors and former state officials formed a Federalist opposition. Fisher had been attacking Fernandez; the governor, coming into conflict with General Cos (over the case of Fisher), in July, 1835 went over to the Federalists. See Appendix A, and Note 82, and also Note 54.

78. A letter from Fisher to Austin, dated Oct. 20, 1835, and now in the Austin Papers in the University of Texas Library, shows that Fisher had real hopes of uniting the widespread but unorganized opposition into an effective movement against Santa Anna "in the North." This Federalist effort never died out, but it never became effective until it culminated briefly in the "Republic of the Rio Grande" in 1840. See page 69.

In the letter of Oct. 20, Fisher in New Orleans writes to Austin in San Antonio that if he (as newspaper editor in Matamoros) had been willing to corrupt his liberal principles and favor "usurpation, despotism, and superstition," joining in "calumniating the inhabitants of Texas and the government of Monclova," he would not have been banished. But the Centralist leaders feared that when General Cos invaded Texas, George Fisher, from Matamoros, would "start a fire" behind him, in Tamaulipas and Nueva Leon.

79. E. C. Barker, in "The Tampico Expedition," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* VI, 3 (January, 1903), bases his account primarily upon the documents and the narrative of Fisher's *Memorials.* Fisher was both Secretary to Gen. Mexía, and (with the rank of Lieut. Col.) Commissary General for the expedition.

80. During 1829-31, Mexía had been Secretary to the Mexican Legation in Washington. He had been one of the incorporators of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co.—and hence distrusted by many Texans.

Barker was the first to show that Mexía acted from honorable motives, not "piratical" ones. Livingston says that Fisher was "liberal towards the cause of Texas. Robbed as he had been, he gave what he had."

81. Mexican military authorities in Tampico executed the bewildered captives. American indignation was turned upon Mexía.

82. Had it succeeded, the Federal cause would at least have been strengthened. Fisher in his letter of Oct. 20 to Austin said that it was hoped that Farías would become President of Mexico, supported by "the Texians." Farías was the most radical, or doctrinaire, of all the Mexican "liberals."

83. Letts cites Farías Papers, University of Texas Library, for Fisher's letters to Mexía, dated May 27 and May 28, and June 9.

The impressions which he formed on this trip, and the fact that Texas was indisputably independent, though "in discord," convinced Fisher at last that the Federalist cause was hopeless, except as an ideal. Gen. Mexía stayed on for several years in New Orleans, acting as a center for plans. In January, 1839 he again led an attack upon Tampico. In May, 1839 he was defeated and executed by the Centralist government forces. See Note 94.

84. The original is in the possession of Lawrence E. Mallette. Mr. K. O. Martin was sheriff of Claiborne Co. Gideon Alford was overseer on the Fisher plantation; soon he would marry Hiram's Aunt Leah (Davis) Robinson, a widow. Louisa (Davis) Trimble was Hiram's youngest aunt, soon to move to Louisiana. Uncle James Davis and his wife Elizabeth lived at Rocky Springs, Claiborne Co. See Chapter II, below. It is likely that any or all of these kinsfolks would have considered moving to Texas with the Fishers, that fall.

85. *Austin Papers,* III, 386-388.

86. Austin Papers in University of Texas Library.

87. Barker in his *Life of Stephen F. Austin* shows all this. We do not mean to suggest that George Fisher was as important as Stephen F. Austin in the history of Texas. But we think it noteworthy that their lives were rather closely entangled. Each wanted much the same things for Texas. They worked at cross purposes, and each injured the other.

88. *Austin Papers,* III, 386-421.

89. Austin Papers in the University of Texas Library.

90. Letts says that the catalogue of St. Joseph's College for 1836-37 lists Hiram Fisher and George Fisher as from Warren Co., Miss. This may indicate that they had been at school in Vicksburg. There is nothing to suggest why George Fisher should have placed his sons in a Roman Catholic school; it was probably the best one available. While Texas was part of Mexico, all colonists had to be listed as nominal Catholics; but no one took this seriously, and in 1836 it was no longer necessary.

91. Austin Papers, in University of Texas Library.

92. See article on "Land Grants," in *Handbook of Texas,* II. At the time Fisher was making inquiries, this had not yet been decided. The whole vexed problem of Texas lands was long discussed. Fisher's method of learning his status was to propose setting forth.

93. Records of the Probate Court of Claiborne Co., in Port Gibson, show all this. They are indexed:

> William Davis et al, to Deed, George Fisher & Wife Elizabeth, Vol. -0- pages 431-432, Claiborne County Land Registrations. Deed recorded May 17, 1837.

94. Farías Papers, University of Texas Library. Seguin, son of Erasmo Seguin, that "true-hearted old man," had fought as a Texan at San Jacinto, and with his father restored civil order at San Antonio. As a member of the Texas Senate he had worked for friendly relations between Mexican-Texans and Anglo-Texans. Since Fisher writes that Seguin would give further details to Mexía, it would seem that (whoever originated it) both men knew of this Federalist plan for widespread hostilities to begin simultaneously in Yucatan, Guatemala, and along the Rio Grande, while two fleets would attack at once, one from the Gulf of Mexico, the other from the Pacific—to gain Independence for California! Fisher thinks Texas would cooperate; Samuel M. Williams would buy ships in Baltimore, and Pres. Sam Houston grant letters of marque. Actually, the Texas Congress on Nov. 4 passed an act authorizing Williams to buy several ships for the Texas Navy, and in 1841 Texas "lent" this fleet to Yucatan; but Houston opposed all such deals.

95. Letts cites Certificate No. 455, File 56, Harris Co., General Land Office.

96. Fisher's interests are traced through newspaper files.

97. The petition is in the office of the Secretary of State, File Box No. 28, Letter F, No. 13. The decree is listed in H.P.N. Gamel, *Laws of Texas* (Austin, 1898), II, 72.

The divorce is, of course, the reason that George Fisher's immediate descendants in Mississippi grew up knowing little about him, and feeling some bitterness toward him.

In claiming that he had been separated from his wife since 1825, Fisher ignores the fact that in 1830 they had had a child.

98. Letts traces all this through newspapers.

99. Letts cites Frank Brown, *Annals of Travis County and City of Austin,* Chapter VI. Also, A. S. Ruthven, *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Texas . . .* 1837 . . .-1857 (Galveston, 1860), I, 37, 50.

100. *Memorials of George Fisher, Late Secretary to the Expedition of Gen. José Antonio Mexía, against Tampico, in November, 1835.* Presented to the Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the Republic of Texas, Praying for Relief in Favor of the Members of the Said Expedition (Houston: Printed at the Telegraph Office, 1840). See Note 157.

In his "Explanatory Remarks," dated Dec. 14, 1839, Fisher points out that Article 1 of the Consultation, Nov. 7, 1835 stated that Texas had taken up arms in defense of the Republican principles of the Federal Constitution of 1824; and that Article 8 read: "Texas will reward, by donations in lands, all who volunteer their services in her present struggle, and will receive them as citizens." That the Tampico Expedition was a "piratical undertaking," as charged by a "certain printed pamphlet," and by newspaper articles printed in the United States, is a "calumny" which he hereby refutes by documents and letters. Fisher had, he says, done all in his power

to defend Texas, and to promote the permanent good of the "bright land of his adoption."

101. Fisher left San Antonio on Feb. 22 and had the story in print and "on the street" in less than a week.

102. This documented reappraisal was published in the Austin *City Gazette,* May 13, 1840.

At the same time Fisher furnished to A. S. Lipscomb, Secretary of State, documents and letters showing that the claims currently being made by J. C. Beales and other British subjects, through the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, to recover lands from Texas, were without foundation. Fisher Papers; and Letter Book No. 36, Home Letters, 1177, Texas State Library. See above, Note 74.

103. Fisher Papers, Texas State Library. Also, Fisher prints a copy of the license in the "Correspondence" at the back of his bound copies of *Memorials:*

> I, William Fairfax Gray, Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Texas, do hereby certify that George Fisher of the County of Harris was admitted and qualified as an Attorney and Counsellor of said Supreme Court . . . .

104. Letts cites Domestic Correspondence, Department of State, 1839-40, Texas State Library.

Fisher's daughter, Maria Louisa, aged 10, died at "Twin Halls" on Dec. 14, 1840; but he would probably not have known of this until long afterward. He had in his petition for divorce ignored her existence.

105. Herbert Gambrell, *Anson Jones, the Last President of Texas* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1948), page 190.

106. That Lamar had an unfavorable opinion of George Fisher is shown by his long note upon him, included in Lamar Papers, No. 1664. There is a good deal of "documentation" concerning Fisher in the Lamar Papers, the main item in No. 1664 being Fisher's autograph "Biographical Sketches of Geo.: Fisher, Collector of the Port of Galveston, Commissary General of War of Matamoros, and Editor of the *Mercurio del Puerto de Matamoros,* in 1833, 34, & 35. With Notes and Documentary Evidences Relative to his Expulsion from Mexico by Order of the President General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna." It is concisely and effectively written; it employs the third person throughout; its purpose is to present Fisher's activities in Matamoros, from March, 1833 when he left the City of Mexico, to the time of his banishment. It quotes extensively from various issues of the *Mercurio,* and it includes copies of the letters of recommendation written by Stephen F. Austin to John Austin in Brazoria, and to nine other individuals; and the three letters written to Fisher by Austin—that of Jan. 15, 1834 from Monterey, and that of Oct. 15, 1834 and of March 30, 1835 from Mexico City. See Notes 66 and 153.

It covers three folders of paper, foolscap size, (or about twelve pages), and is bound together with green tape. Fisher's handwriting is always

clearly legible, and readily recognizable by certain characteristics. For instance, he always capitalizes certain letters (such as C) at the beginning of a word.

107. Letts cites Minutes of Commissioners' Court, Harris Co., Book A, 1837-1861.

108. Letts cites city records, newspapers, etc.

109. The portrait which we use as frontispiece shows Fisher in Lieut. Col.'s uniform with the Lone Star flag draped to his left. It is inserted in some bound copies of his *Memorials* (we reproduce it from the one in the Library of Congress, Rare Book Room), with the *Memorials* of the Tampico Expedition, printed in 1840. It probably dates from a slightly later period; see below, Note 128, and compare Note 157.

110. Gambrell, *op. cit.,* page 210.

111. Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* appeared in 1841; his second trip to Yucatan, when he met George Fisher, was made in 1841-42, and written up as *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan.* See above, Note 1.

Illustrated by Catherwood's beautiful drawings, Stephens' books were a sensational success in America and in Europe. By coincidence, William H. Prescott's great *Conquest of Mexico* appeared also in 1843. C. W. Ceram in his popular *Gods, Graves and Scholars* (New York: Knopf, 1952), pages 357-392, has brought the work of Stephens and Catherwood back into notice.

112. Unfortunately, Yucatan had delayed action until after the downfall of the Republic of Rio Grande, and the re-emergence of Santa Anna to power. Mexico still refusing to recognize the Independence of the Republic of Texas, Pres. M. B. Lamar made a quasi-official alliance with the rebel government of Yucatan, which continued to waver. He leased to it the Texas Navy, in September, 1841. Sam Houston, who disapproved this policy (and indeed the Navy as well), began his second term as President of Texas on Dec. 14, 1841, the day after Commodore Moore had left Galveston for Sisal with the *Austin,* the *San Bernard,* and the *San Antonio.* He professed not to receive Houston's orders (to return) until March. See Note 122.

The *San Antonio* in October completed its survey of the coast of Texas, and went on a preliminary call to Sisal in November—George Fisher being aboard. The State Department in this period did employ several more or less secret observers in Mexico; but Fisher's mission remains unexplained.

113. Stephens, *op. cit.,* I, 84-86. See Appendix A.

114. See Appendix A, and Note 77.

115. Letts cites Fisher Papers, Texas State Library.

116. Stephens, *op. cit.,* II, 351.

117. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1908. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas,* Part III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), Vol. II (2), page 954.

118. Stephens, *op. cit.,* II, 363.

119. Letts cites Fisher Papers, Texas State Library.

120. Letts cites Houston *Morning Star,* Jan. 12, 1843, and subsequently. By June 26, 1843 there were disagreements. On Oct. 9, 1843 Fisher resigned as City Recorder. He was probably out of pocket for ink and stationery.

121. See articles on Seguin and on Woll in the *Handbook of Texas,* II.

122. Alex Dienst, "The Navy of the Republic of Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XIII* (Oct., 1909), 85. Also see article on Texas Navy, in *Handbook of Texas,* II.

In April 1843 a Court Martial was held on board the *Austin.* In August, Commodore Moore, carrying out its verdict, hanged four mutineers at the yardarm. Pres. Sam Houston gave him a dishonorable discharge; Houston was then censured by the Eighth Congress of Texas.

123. Stephens, *op. cit.,* II, 364.

124. *Ibid.,* II, 457.

125. *The Madisonian,* Washington City, D. C., February 5th, 1844, published by John B. Jones. Fisher's letter is dated from Houston, Jan. 2, 1844.

126. Letts mentions articles in the New Orleans *Picayune,* the Charleston *Mercury,* the Louisville *Daily Journal,* the Missouri *Republican,* and the Providence, R. I. *Journal.* Fisher charges that Great Britain seeks to gain the Beales grants.

127. E. C. Barker, "The Annexation of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* L (1946-47), shows the importance of British pressures. Pres. Tyler proposed Annexation on the ground that Texas must not become a satellite of Great Britain.

128. In 1844 Fisher was Secretary of the Fannin Artillery. Letts cites the Houston *Morning Star,* and the *Telegraph and Texas Register, passim,* 1843-45, for his activities.

It is likely that the portraits of him in uniform date from this period.

129. See the article on Navarro, in the *Handbook of Texas,* II.

130. Letts cites the Journals of the Constitutional Convention, 1845, pages 6, 17, 70-72, 97, 301, 336, 375. Fisher was paid $14.00 for translating the Constitution, at $2.00 a page, and $168 as interpreter.

131. Letts cites Spanish Records, Vol. 53, pages 141-285, General Land Office, Austin. Those who work today in these records attest to George Fisher's skill and accuracy.

On Dec. 13, 1848 George Fisher, from Houston, wrote to W. D. Miller, Secretary of State, requesting that he be sent a copy of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Second Congress—and also of the First Congress, in case they are printed—"should you consider that as Interpreter of the Hon. J. Anto. Navarro, Senator from Bexar," that he be entitled to them. Fisher desires, he says, to perpetuate all Texas State Papers; but should he "remove from the state," he will remit them to the

State Department for the use of the State Library. He offers to give his three bound volumes of the official journal of the Mexican Government for June, 1836 through March 17, 1837, and his files of Houston newspapers for 1839-40. He offers also his copy of the records of the "Custom House of Galveston during the years 1830, 31 & 32 when I was Collector of Customs of said Port, under the Mexican Government." Fisher thinks all these are now "historical data" for Texas, and should belong to the state. cf. Note 153.

He adds that he would respectfully suggest that three boxes of Spanish Documents be retrieved from Bexar County; they were taken in 1847 from the office of the Secretary of State on the supposition that they referred to that county. But actually they were part of the Archives of the Department of Bexar, "Coextensive with the former limits of Texas proper." Also, some were part of the Archives of the Government of the Province of Texas, prior to 1821. Fisher thinks that these documents are "invaluable," and "ought of right to be in your Department."

132. Ruthven, *op. cit.*, I, 292. Fisher was appointed Masonic Grand Orator for the year 1848. In January, 1849, as Grand Orator, he reported to the Grand Lodge on his trip to Washington in the summer of 1848. He was then appointed district Deputy Grand Master for the Fourth Masonic District.

133. Harris County, Marriage Registrations, Vol. B, page 81. The license is dated April 13, 1848 at Houston; it is signed by W. A. Baker, clerk. George Freeman, Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas, certifies that he performed the rites of matrimony between George Fisher and Mary Caroline Fleming on April 13, 1848, according to the ritual of the Church. (Did the Bishop know that Fisher had been divorced?)

It is possibly noteworthy that in his letter to the Secretary of State in December, Fisher mentions the possibility of his "removal" from the state.

134. The will is recorded in Harris County Wills, Vol. M, page 71. By it, A. H. Annermann, his mother's executor, in addition to his one-fourth, receives her headrights tract of 640 acres in Fannin Co., Texas, and a Negro woman, Creasey. See below, Notes 151, 158.

135. See below, page 176. That Fisher had been somewhat interested in California before the Gold Rush is indicated by his articles on Annexation; the Santa Fé trade routes led on to the Pacific.

Since Fisher was back in Panama in the spring of 1850, he and his son must have started for California fairly early in 1849.

136. Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields: The Migration by Water to California in 1849-1852* (New York: Knopf, 1949), in Chapter IV, "Panama and Nicaragua," shows that the "easy" route from the Atlantic to the Pacific was as hard as any other. It was shorter; but delays, especially on the Pacific side, were long and dreadful. From Chagres to Cruces, forty miles, had to be made in precarious bungoes by river and lake, with

no accommodations for camping ashore. The ancient Spanish trail, on from Cruces, had once been paved—for the transport of Inca treasure—but was now "a gutter of mud between rocks on a shelf at the top of a precipice."

Hiram Fisher and his father must have experienced all this.

137. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula,* Vol. XXXV of Works (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888), Chapter VII.

138. Reprints of this issue are bound into Fisher's *Memorials.*

139. Dr. Andrew Forest Muir, Lecturer in History at Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, in the course of his research into the history of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii, discovered eleven letters written by George Fisher, and by Robert C. Wyllie in response to those by Fisher, on file in the Archives of Hawaii, in Honolulu. In 1945 Dr. Muir sent copies of them to the Texas State Library; they are filed with the Fisher Papers there. The references to sources are his.

R. C. Wyllie spent some forty years in the service of the Kings of Hawaii. A Scot, one both shrewd and idealistic, and at times "difficult," he succeeded in making Hawaii respected in world diplomacy. To George Fisher's relaying of American newspapers, and his comments on news and on public events, Mr. Wyllie responded with interest.

140. Letter No. 2 is Wyllie's to Quesada, regretting that he cannot encourage Fisher to come to Honolulu. Whether or not Quesada (and Wyllie) were Masons does not appear. Fisher in several letters describes Masonic activities.

141. Letters No. 3 and No. 4.

142. Fisher explains all, in Letter No. 9, dated May 7, 1852.

143. Letter No. 5. During this period Hawaii suffered a rather unwelcome influx of shivering "Argonauts," eager for warmth and sun. Its own brief boom being over, it suffered economic depression.

The *Tennessee* was one of the steamships of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., run by William H. Aspinwall. In 1853 it ran aground in thick fog off San Francisco and was lost. See Oscar Lewis, *op. cit.,* Chapter V, "Steamships." At the time Fisher sailed on it, the fare was about $150 in first cabin, $100 in second.

Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874: Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1953), in Chapter I, "By Sea and Land," discusses the mail service; and in Chapter V, the later trans-oceanic steamship service. In 1850 Mr. Wyllie and the post master of San Francisco "informally" put in the first mail service. Steamship service was long talked of, but was not regularly established until the 1860's. In the 1850's there were some fast sailing ships.

144. Letter No. 6. Having left Panama before the arrival there of the packet of letters from Mrs. Averill, Fisher is becoming anxious.

145. Letter No. 7. This letter was not received until about two months later. Fisher continued to send packages of newspapers to Mr. Wyllie. The

New York *Herald* must have been many months old by the time Mr. Wyllie received it in April.

146. Letter No. 8. Wyllie marked this as received on April 24—a very brief interval.

147. Letter No. 9. This one too made record time.

148. Letter No. 10. For Letter No. 11, see pages 114-119. For Letters 3 through 11, inclusive, the source is: Foreign Office and Executive, Miscellaneous Foreign (MSS. in Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu).

149. Robert G. Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire . . . 1542-1900* (New York: Knopf, 1944), gives a clear analysis. In a famous work, first published in 1886, Josiah Royce, *California: From Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in Santa Fé. A Study in American Character* (New York: Knopf, 1948) stresses injustices to native owners.

150. See above, Note 2. Livingston's final four-volume edition is really not quite that: the last two volumes repeat, with additions, the first two. The fourth volume is mainly new, however, and is printed on slightly larger paper. Volumes III-IV give as publisher John Livingston himself, at 157 Broadway, New York; then, London: S. Low and Co. These Volumes III-IV, when originally issued in parts, bore the title, "American portrait gallery, containing portraits of men now living." Livingston does include pictures—engravings made apparently from photographs—and he also means that his biographies were "portraits," or "sketches" of interesting characters. See Note 157.

But there was also a one-volume *Portraits of Eminent Americans Now Living: Including President Pierce and His Cabinet: With Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Their Lives and Actions* (New York: R. Craighead, printer. London: S. Low, Son & Co., 1854) 542 pages. Its publication date is the same as the (apparently) later work. The explanation is no doubt that Livingston's sketches were all being collected from previous publication in periodicals, and put into book form in 1854.

These had all been preceded in 1852 by his *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Lawyers Now Living.* For several years he had published annually (1849-1854), under varying title, *The Law Register . . . An Official and Business Union Directory . . .* (New York: The Merchants' Union Law Co.). This continued to appear irregularly until 1868. All this can be gleaned from the Library of Congress Catalogue, and similar sources.

Livingston himself was a lawyer from New York state, who seems to have been a lobbyist, or to have had reason to be often in Washington. His numerous biographical sketches tend to become defenses or eulogies, perhaps hastily put together. They preserve valuable Americana that would otherwise be lost.

In the 1870's Livingston published exposures of the dishonesty and "despotism" of the railways corporations, especially the Erie.

151. On July 12, 1854 George Fisher gave a quit claim deed of his Claiborne Co. properties, both real and personal, to his sons. The considera-

tions were "ten dollars cash in hand paid, and love and affection." The deed was recorded July 13, 1854. The Index reads:

George Fisher, to Quit Claim to Hiram, Geo., and John Fisher.
Vol. BB, page 269, Claiborne Co. Land Registrations.

Sometime in 1854, Fisher deeded to his third wife the land in Harris Co., Texas, "along Spring Creek," described in the disposition of her estate after her death in 1858. See Notes 134, 158. He deeded her $5,000 also.

152. These letters and documents are printed on larger paper, the oversize pages being folded into the back of the small bound volumes of the *Memorials of George Fisher.*

153. In a letter dated from Houston, Oct. 21, 1856 to Edward Clark, Secretary of State, George Fisher says he is sending papers and letters written by Stephen F. Austin, to be placed either in the State Department, or in the State Library of Texas. He hopes they will be used as sources for the history of Texas. They will also "vindicate the Conduct of the Collector of the Custom House in the discharge of his duty as a Revenue Officer of the Govert. of Mexico in Texas." He sends five Spanish documents; three letters from Austin to himself; four letters of recommendation by Austin sent from Matamoros on May 31, 1833. All these are now in the Archives. Copies of the same letters are in the Lamar Papers, No. 1664.

This letter was reprinted, with a short article prepared by the Archives Division, and a picture of George Fisher in uniform (but without the Lone Star flag) sent in by Lawrence E. Mallette—all in *Texas Libraries,* Dec. 12, 1953, page 10, published by the Texas State Library. cf. Note 131.

154. In 1853 Fisher was 58 years old; he had been encountering adventures for some forty years.

155. John Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of the West* (University of California Press, 1946), page 242.

156. One for March 20, 1857 through March 30, 1858, is signed by Gov. John J. McRae; Miss. Commissions, 1853-1857, page 235.

One for April 10, 1859 to Oct. 3, 1859, is signed by Gov. Wm. McWillie; Miss. Commissions, 1858-1864, page 21. Both records are in the Mississippi State Archives.

157. "Presented to the Congressional Library, March 1858, by Geo. Fisher." "Presented to the Smithsonian Institution, March 1858, by Geo. Fisher." Both these copies, which are identical in content, are now in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress. They have two portraits: One reproduced from Livingston's *Portraits of Eminent Americans,* and the other (used in the present work as our frontispiece, and showing the Lone Star flag) from an unknown source. This portrait is in some but not all copies. In the copy of the *Memorials* in the University of Texas Library, a pencil notation on the Livingston portrait reads, "From a Daguerreotype taken in 1850 in Panama, N. G." It shows an older man.

In a copy presented to the Hon. Charles Naylor is written: "April, 1858, Washington, D. C.—Geo. Fisher, late of Texas & now of California."

This copy now belongs to Thomas W. Streeter, and is No. 14 in his list, below. We should add the copy originally given to the Smithsonian Institution as No. 15.

Streeter in his *Bibliography of Texas,* 1795-1845, Part I, *Texas Imprints,* Vol. II, 1839-1845, lists *Memorials of George Fisher* as Item 384. He gives a partial analysis and description, and points out that the copies vary in content as Fisher ran out of some items.

Streeter lists as "locations" of fourteen copies:

1. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
2. Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
3. Bancroft Library, University of Calif., Berkeley.
4. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
5. New York Public Library, New York.
6. Houston Public Library, Texas.
7. Baylor University Library, Waco, Texas.
8. National Archives, Washington, D. C.
9. University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.
10. United States Military Academy Library, West Point, N. Y.
11. Brown University Library, Providence, R. I.
12. University of Texas Library, Austin.
13. Texas Masonic Grand Lodge Library, Waco.
14. Thomas W. Streeter, Morristown, N. J.

Fisher began by presenting (orally) a "Memorial" in behalf of members of the Tampico Expedition of 1835 to the Fourth Congress. He then included full documentation and printed as a pamphlet, *Memorials* of George Fisher, Late Secretary to the Expedition of Gen. José Antonio Mexía, Against Tampico, in November, 1835. Presented to the Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the Republic of Texas, Praying for Relief . . . Houston: Printed at the Telegraph Office, 1840. See Note 100.

Then in 1858 he included, with this main item, a reprint of Livingston's article from *Portraits of Eminent Americans,* with the 1850 portrait; a reprint of the article on Annexation, from the *Madisonian,* Feb. 5, 1844; a reprint from the *Panama Echo,* June 1, 1850; in the copy in the University of Texas Library, and possibly in others, a reprint of "Freemasonry in Mexico," by "Desaguliers," from the *Masonic Review,* Cincinnati, Ohio, I. Aug., 1858, II, Oct., 1858. cf. Note 17.

In the back, on larger, quarto-size paper, is a four-page folder of "Correspondence," the latest date being April 27, 1857. Here are the letters from members of the Calif. Land Commission, and the appointments as Commissioner of Deeds.

158. See Notes 133, 134. It has been suggested that possibly Mrs. M. C. Page (whom Fisher married in 1840) and Mrs. Mary Caroline Fleming (whom he married in 1848) were one and the same person—that for some reason the first marriage was invalid, that Fisher tried to rectify the error

with an unquestionably legal marriage later, but that he never lived with this wife in 1848, and left Texas in 1849. The main reasons for this theory are the identity of initials and the fact that neither marriage seemed to have been a "real" union. But the obituary in San Francisco in 1873 stated that he had been married four times. If we knew the age of Charlesetta M. Fisher, and knew that she was actually George Fisher's daughter, we could get more light on the subject. It is hard to believe that if she were a baby, born in 1849, he would have"deserted" wife and child to go to California; or, if he did, that his son Hiram knew nothing about it, and no "enemy" made comments, either then or in later years.

159. John K. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi: The People and Policies of a Cotton State in Wartime* (Louisiana State University Press, 1943), gives a full account of contradictory conditions—especially of the predicament of those opposed to Secession.

160. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874: Twenty Critical Years,* Chapter II, Note 43—and throughout.

161. Kuykendall and other historians relate the story of the earlier missionaries, of the founding of the Episcopal diocese in Hawaii, and the religious tendencies of the King and of Queen Emma. An account of the history of the Episcopal church in Hawaii by Dr. Andrew Forest Muir appears in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XVIII (1949), 31-65.

162. Frances J. Woodward, *Portrait of Jane: A Life of Lady Franklin* (London: Hodden and Stoughton, 1951), gives an account of this visit.

163. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938), page 302, mentions Starkey, Janion and Co. as one of three English commercial houses; it was founded in 1845. It later became Janion, Greene and Co., and then T. H. Davies, Ltd.

164. The literary history of California has often been recounted. In his *The Times of Melville and Whitman* (New York: Dutton, 1947), Van Wyck Brooks connects it with much else. See his Chapter V, "The Far West"; XIII, "San Francisco"; XIV, "Mark Twain in the West."

165. C. W. Ceram, in *Gods, Graves, and Scholars,* Chapter I, pages 29-55 retells the true adventure.

166. The article on Walker in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition) cites many books on this filibustering era, one by Walker himself.

167. Photostats of all these documents are in the Fisher Papers, Texas State Library.

168. Letts cites the Ashbel Smith Papers, University of Texas Library.

169. *Ibid.* Obviously, it always troubled George Fisher that his efforts to be a loyal official of the Mexican government, and then a loyal Federalist, made him to be hated by some Texans. Forty years later, he was still seeking to set the record straight. Compare Notes 131, 153.

170. It seems that he would have had a Masonic funeral; but there is no mention of what sort of funeral service was held.

171. José Maria Jésus Carbajal, deputy from Bexar to the Legislature of Coahuila-Texas, and its secretary, was authorized in the spring of 1835 to publish the laws of the state in English and Spanish. They were published in Texas in 1839. He took some part in the Texas Revolution, but later was a leader in Mexico. *Handbook of Texas,* I.

172. The same account appeared in the San Francisco *Alta California* on June 12, the San Francisco *Examiner* on June 13, and the *Daily Evening Bulletin* on June 18. The California Historical Society, San Francisco, kindly sent a transcript of the last mentioned to Lawrence E. Mallette.

173. See Note 8, and Appendix B.

174. This is Appendix I in Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith: His Life and Legend* (New York: Lippincott, 1953).

175. John Selden, the 17th century scholar and antiquary, in his *Titles of Honor,* Third edition (London, 1672) discusses why the Emperour of Moscovy is called "White King." He concludes that no one knows why! (And why should the name Albania have been given to that country?)

176. Fisher did not correct Livingston's error.

177. "Polgar" means "citizen" in Hungarian.

178. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition) has long, detailed, scholarly articles, with extensive bibliography, on all the Balkan countries, especially as they were in the 18th and 19th centuries.

179. In his little book written "so that the American youth of Slav heritage may learn some of the pertinent facts about the homelands of their forefathers," Mr. Vlahovic asserts that the history of the Slavs is not known to English speaking people, though in the United States alone there are more than fifty million Americans of Slav descent. His book is *Two Hundred 50 Million and One Slavs: An Outline of Slav History with Maps and Annotations* (New York: Slav Publications, Inc., 5 Beekman St., 1945).

180. See Notes 1 and 111.

181. Except for Stephens' seeing these papers of Fisher's, quoting the Spanish, and remarking on "Ribar," and "Belgrade," we would know nothing of the problem. Modern writers on Texas history occasionally refer to George Fisher, the customs collector at Galveston in the early 1830's, as a Serb or a Turk; but the references seem to stem from Stephens, often now by way of the *Handbook of Texas,* rather than from knowledge of his papers themselves.

182. George Fisher's descendants in Mississippi knew nothing of Livingston; apparently even Hiram had never seen a reprint. Nevertheless, some of the grandchildren made a fragmentary legend of "grandpa," and some of the great grandchildren can now see that it was substantially the same as what George Fisher told Livingston. They take this fact as a confirmation of the authenticity of Livingston.

For instance, Walter Russell Fisher, and others, recall what George W. Fisher would say; it was something like this:

"My father was a Hungarian, and was educated as a priest." "My father entered the United States without a passport and without a dime." "He was held on board a ship in Philadelphia by the ship's captain, but on a stormy night he and two others escaped ashore. They were mistaken for fishermen, and took Fisher for a name."

But (at some time in the early 1900's) Percy Caston Fisher and Ione (Fisher) Parmenter, and others, learned of Stephens' books on Yucatan with the mention of George Fisher. W. E. Parmenter obtained copies through a secondhand book dealer in Boston, Mass., and presented them to his wife, Ione. Their son William G. Parmenter now owns them. Lawrence E. Mallette also owns a set. From Stephens, the family learned of the "Ribar of Belgrade" theory; it merely puzzled them. Mary F. Parmenter recalls being teased as a child by her mother Ione and her "Aunt Honey," Blanche (Fisher) Yates, who said, "Oh, our old grandpa was most anything. His mother was a Greek and his father was a Turk." Then they told her, "That's just an old joke. He really was a Hungarian." Asked what became of him, they replied, "Oh, he went off to Texas and California, and never came back."

We conclude that George and his two companions must have stowed away, without papers, on the Dutch ship. Upon anchoring in Philadelphia harbor, the captain held them for passage money, but they were not "redeemed" by anyone. Within the jurisdiction of the U. S., they could not have been "sold"; by 1815, no white person could have been sold into bondage in America. But the captain could, conceivably, have so disposed of them in some other countries. Once ashore, they were liable to be seized by immigration authorities and returned to the ship, or to Europe.

A vague hint of one of the other two "fishers" came, probably in the 1890's, in an inquiry perhaps from the estate of a Fisher who had died (in the past) in Philadelphia, and had a "brother" once resident in Mississippi. George W. Fisher merely laughed, saying, "My father had no brothers and no sisters."

183. Letts cites Fisher papers in Texas State Library; Austin Papers in University of Texas Library; and Barker Transcripts, Guerra, 1835-36, University of Texas Library.

184. This information was discovered and transcribed by Saydee (Wilkerson) McLemore.

CHAPTER II

THE DAVIS FAMILY

I. Reuben Davis and His Family in Mississippi

Elizabeth Davis, first wife of George Fisher, was the second daughter of Reuben Davis[1] and his wife Sarah (Disharoon) Davis. They, with their family of nine children, had come in 1811 to Claiborne County, Territory of Mississippi, from Somerset County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Davis had already been to the "Natchez Country" and selected his tract of land, and he did not sell his ancestral holdings in Maryland until later. Twenty-two families traveled overland together. We do not know which route they followed, but until some ten years later any of the possible ones would have been very difficult and would have taken some months to traverse.[2] They must have come on horseback and in ox wagons, perhaps driving some cattle with them. If they had slaves, the Negroes walked beside the wagons. In fact, old Jerry Upshur, an ex-slave of the Fisher family who died in Cayuga about 1900, used to tell some of the Fisher children, "My grandpappy said he come from Maryland wid Marse Reuben Davis. He walked all the way, and they fit the Injuns."

Though a common way for immigrants from the East to get into the still new "West" of the Louisiana Purchase was to float down the Ohio and the Mississippi by flatboat, and the first river steamboat appeared in this very year of 1811, it was a year of high water and of the great earthquake that "made the river change sides." So possibly the difficulty was no greater by land than by water, although the bridges and post roads were mainly plans rather than realities until many years later. The Natchez Trace was in use by 1810, though far from safe for smaller parties. Probably these pioneers from Maryland followed the road through the Cumberland Gap to Nashville, and thence down the Trace toward Natchez. Or possibly they tried to stay south of the mountains, and by crossing what is now northern Georgia and Alabama,

intercepted the Natchez Trace at some lower point; but this way would be almost impossible for wagons at that date.[2] The journey of over a thousand miles would have taken several months for a wagon train of families. This one, accomplished during 1811, was an early "wave" in what, after Jackson's victory at New Orleans in early 1815, would become an increasing "flood" of immigration, whatever the difficulties.

Reuben Davis had owned considerable land and property in Maryland, and was an experienced planter of tobacco and other crops. On his preliminary journey to Mississippi he had obtained land in sections 41 and 42, township 14, range 4, East, in Claiborne County. He soon became established as a planter of cotton, then a rather new crop, in a tract comprising some 1600 acres in these sections, and in section 43 also,[3] in the angle between the Natchez Trace and the Big Black River. This was not only good farm land but was strategically located on both these basic lines of communication.

The residence, built upon Big Sandy Creek (or "Big Sand"), near its entry into the Big Black, was complete by 1814; it was lived in by members of the Davis (and Fisher) family until about 1870, and was owned by the Fisher family until it was demolished in 1909. It was built in three sections, and hence called "Twin Halls": the "twin" halls, each with a stairway to the half-story above, ran on each side of the central portion. The house was built of squared cypress timbers, put together with pegs; the roof was of hand-drawn cypress shingles, and the centrally located fireplaces were of sandstone. All materials were found or made upon the place. There were sixteen rooms, including the ones upstairs, and a brick cook house stood in the yard. There were two groups of slave quarters, one on each side, built of logs, with hard-tamped earthen floors. Two wash houses stood upon the "running creek," and here the slaves took their baths and washed the clothes; one of the old wash boilers still exists. There were large barns and other outbuildings. Certain slaves were trained in certain skills: the shoemaker, for instance, made brogans with buckles for all the Negroes on the Davis place, and this custom continued. As one old woman said in later years, "I never did wear a shoe with a hole in it twell after Freedom."

Of the eleven children of Reuben Davis, nine had been born in Maryland, and several were small when they made the trip, Louisa Ann being a baby one year old; two more children, the boys Aden and Ater, were born at "Twin Halls." The life this substantial family lived, as the children grew up, could not have been luxurious; but it must have been active, prosperous, secure, and far from isolated. "Twin Halls" was near the ferry and the boat landing; the Big Black was then a navigable tributary of the Mississippi, and hence became the route to New Orleans as well as to Natchez.[4] Port Gibson was not far away; Rocky Springs was quite near. The Methodist church there would have been the most accessible one. In Maryland the Davises had been members of the Church of England, and records show that William Davis, Reuben's oldest son, was a member of the Episcopal church in Port Gibson.

Where the Davis children went to school we do not know. Probably while young they had a teacher living at "Twin Halls," and possibly when older the children attended one of the academies in Port Gibson. The older children must have had some schooling in Maryland. One wonders just how they continued it after the move.

William Davis, for instance, born in 1798, would then have been thirteen. Soon he was by profession a civil engineer and surveyor; how did he get his training? Here we may consider a parallel with the Wailes family,[5] also originally from Somerset County in Maryland. Levin Wailes had become a surveyor in Georgia, and when in 1807 he moved to Washington, near Natchez, he hoped to lay out boundaries in the new region, and with eight young assistants he did make a survey of the boundary of the Choctaw Nation. In 1810 he moved to Opelousas in Louisiana as "Register of the Land Office." The fact is at that period there was an opportunity for young men to learn surveying by working under under those who were actively engaged in such work, on both sides of the Mississippi. In 1818 Benjamin, Levin's son, who had learned his mathematics at Jefferson College at Washington, near Natchez, was appointed deputy surveyor of the southwestern district of the state of Louisiana. Levin Wailes by 1822 was Surveyor-general of public lands south of Tennessee. In this same

period we find that William Davis was in 1829 appointed by the State Surveyor of Mississippi to be District Surveyor; in 1830-31 Davis surveyed the Big Black River and its watershed. That is, Davis and Wailes followed in the same pattern.

One monument to William Davis' skill, engineered perhaps in the latter 1820's, was the system of levees and ditches erected for several miles along the Big Black for drainage of overflow land. It brought several hundred acres of Davis land into cultivation, and still forms part of the modern system of control in that area. William Davis had to make the survey, draw up the plans, and then supervise plantation labor to build up the rather complex system whereby surplus water falling on higher ground was carried to the river, around the ends of the curving levee which kept flood water from entering the enclosed low ground. Through an opening in the center of the levee, during times when the river was low, surface water drained off through a sort of valve door which closed when the river was high.

By December 31, 1836 when William Davis retired from public service in Claiborne County in expectation of leading the "colony" to Nacogdoches for George Fisher, he had been active "at the Court House" for some fifteen years. In 1821 he had been appointed County Registrar. In January, 1822 he was appointed Clerk of the Superior Court. This court being superseded by the present Chancery and Circuit Courts, Davis was in May, 1822 appointed Clerk of the first Chancery Court; he was reappointed in 1823, '25, and '27. The Probate, or Orphans Court was a branch of the Chancery Court; William Davis served as Registrar of the Probate Court. In 1832, the office of Chancery Clerk having in 1831 been made elective, Davis was elected Clerk of Chancery and Registrar of Probate. He was re-elected in 1834, and then, as said above, he retired at the end of his term. He had at the same time been District Surveyor in 1829-32. George Fisher in one of his letters to Stephen F. Austin (dated August 4, 1836) said Davis was "at present County Surveyor . . . and Depy. of the U. S., also Clerk of the District Court of Claiborne County." Fisher may have been only slightly inaccurate here: in the early part of 1837, William Davis planned, surveyed, and mapped the town of Grand Gulf, and also a subdivision of the town of Port Gibson.[6]

It was said that William Davis executed more wills, served as guardian for more minors, administered more estates, and was security to more fidelity bonds, than any other man who ever resided in Claiborne County. George Fisher was quite right in recommending him to Austin as "well acquainted with all matters relating to Land Office and Land Business."

The oldest child of Reuben Davis was a daughter Leah, born in Maryland about 1790, and thus about twenty-one when the family moved. Sometime before 1817 she was married to John Fulkes, in Claiborne County; marriage records of the county were destroyed in 1817. They had no children, and after Fulkes' death in 1823, Leah apparently returned to live at "Twin Halls." Her father had died in 1821, and the household now consisted of her mother, her sister Elizabeth Fisher and the Fisher family (that is, George Fisher and their two little sons, Hiram and George), and the three younger Davis children—Louisa Ann, Aden, and Ater. On October 11, 1825, just after the Fishers' third son John was born, and about when George Fisher went first to Mexico (to become involved with Ambassador Poinsett, in the activities of the "Yorkinos"), Leah was married (2nd) to James Robinson. She would have then been about thirty-five years old, while Robinson would have been forty-six. At his death in February, 1832, Leah was left with three children.

George Fisher came home from Mexico in November, 1828; at least he was summoned to appear with other heirs in the partial settlement of the Davis estate, after the death of Reuben's widow. In the spring of 1830 he was at home for several weeks, before going to "establish the customs" at Galveston, and serve as Secretary of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin. He returned home at the Christmas season of 1830, just after the birth of Maria Louisa (November 28). In the U. S. Census of 1830[7] for Claiborne County, George Fisher is listed as head of the household —which consisted of himself, his wife, their three sons, and the three younger Davis children. Louisa Ann Davis was then twenty, Aden was eighteen, and Ater was sixteen. The baby, Maria Louisa Fisher, was of course not born soon enough to be enumerated. When George Fisher petitioned the Congress of the Republic of

Texas for a divorce in January, 1839, he stated that he had been separated from his wife for thirteen years; he did not count 1830.

Some four years after the death of James Robinson, on September 8, 1836, the twice-widowed Leah, by then about forty-six, was married (3rd) to Gideon Alford, a native of Maryland, who for some years had been overseer on the Davis plantation. After giving birth to a boy, Leah as well as this infant died in November, 1837. It is possible that the Alfords might have gone to Texas among Fisher's ten families of "colonists," in 1836.

The three Robinson children were Hiram Marshall, born in 1826, or 1827; Mary Ann, born in 1828, and Thomas, born in 1830. At their father's death in 1832, their uncle William Davis of Port Gibson had been made their legal guardian. Then in 1835 little Hiram Marshall Robinson had died, aged about nine. The next year, William Davis resigned the guardianship—he seems then to have wound up most of his affairs, possibly in expectation of the move to Texas—and it was granted to their mother, then about to be married to Gideon Alford.

But when in November, 1837 Leah herself died, the guardianship of Mary Ann and Thomas was granted to Leah's younger brother Ater Davis; Ater was twenty-three years old, newly married, and lately admitted to practice law as an attorney in Claiborne County. The two Robinson children made their home with this young uncle in Port Gibson until his untimely death in 1841. Though it seems likely that their stepfather Gideon Alford continued for a time as overseer on the plantation, at least until Hiram and George W. Fisher came home from school in Kentucky (Hiram graduated in 1839, George W. in 1840), there seems to have been no connection between him and these children of Leah's.

After Ater Davis's death in March, 1841, their Aunt Betsy Fisher being now made their legal guardian, the oft-orphaned Mary Ann and Thomas came to live for several years at "Twin Halls," helping perhaps to fill the place left empty by the death in December, 1840 of little Maria Louisa Fisher, who had been the same age as Thomas. Mary Ann Robinson was only three years younger than John Fisher; to her perhaps Hiram and George seemed more grownup—and they had been away at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, besides. The five cousins formed a close

and loyal family group during the 1840's, the period when George Fisher, Sr. was "observing" in Yucatan, and writing on the Annexation of Texas, and working on the Spanish land records in Austin. But then, in 1847, Thomas Robinson died, aged seventeen. The group had already been broken up, however, as his sister Mary Ann had left "Twin Halls" the previous year. In 1846 she (aged eighteen) had gone to visit her aunt Louisa Ann in Carroll Parish, Louisiana.

In 1837 it is likely that Louisa Ann (Davis) Trimble, her husband, and their two little girls, would have moved to Nacogdoches with the Fishers. When that plan failed, the Trimbles moved instead to Louisiana. Trimble had died in 1842, leaving Louisa Ann with five children. Young John Fisher, having attained the age of twenty-one in September, 1846, went to become the manager (and administrator) of his aunt's estate. There, on May 16, 1846 Mary Ann Robinson had been married to Perry Humphrey Hanna, possibly before John's arrival. Or did the Fishers go to the wedding? Mary Ann would spend the rest of her life in Louisiana, but her Fisher cousins, especially George W., continued to love her as a sister. He visited her at various times throughout their lives. He himself was married in 1847, and no one was left of the young people at Big Sand except Hiram Fisher. And Hiram would in 1849 join his father in the California Gold Rush.

But now we must go back once more to the years 1836-37, crucial in the history of this family, as well as in that of Texas. As we know, George Fisher, once more determined to move his family to Texas, had been thwarted by uncertainty or doubt about his claims in Nacogdoches, by the death of Stephen F. Austin, by delays in the settlement of the Davis estate, and, finally by his wife's refusal. This is all we know about the bitter rift between them. Had Elizabeth always been unwilling to go? If she had never consented, during the years that her husband had been considering the project, he would, it seems, hardly have been so confident in the fall of 1836; nor would her prudent and competent brother William Davis have consented to guide the little colony.

Probably the family crisis arose soon after May 16, 1837 when the final settlement of Reuben Davis' estate was made, and when

this reality made her grasp the situation and feel the weight of her responsibilities. To give up the security gained in Mississippi for the uncertainties of the new and (by all accounts) bankrupt Republic of Texas, likely to be overwhelmed in its land speculations and political tensions, and destined to be, sooner or later, the battleground between Mexico and the United States—why, that could well mean the ruin of the whole family! This move would be as fateful as that of the Marylanders, twenty-five years before, as they came over mountain and river and down the Natchez Trace. It would be much more of a gamble, for she could but contrast her ever mercurial husband with her sturdy father. George Fisher had had plenty of trouble already in Texas, and still, at forty-two, had his fortune to make there. Her sister Leah was about forty-seven, and pregnant. We know that Leah was to die in childbirth, later that year; her situation may have already seemed precarious, and Elizabeth no doubt disliked the idea of leaving her and her two children. Besides, the "panic" year of 1837 was not a good one in which to sell "Twin Halls"—it would simply mean losing all that had gone into its making. New Orleans papers carried the news of the financial situation in the Republic of Texas; its money appeared to be all paper, its prosperity all future. Perhaps this seemed too much—or rather, too little— to the shrewd and conservative daughter of Reuben Davis.

Since family tradition tells us that young George W. Fisher, then fourteen, "ran away from school and walked home from Kentucky," we may guess that he did come home in that summer of 1837, to find out what was going to happen—that he lent his voice in support of his mother, and got sent back to school by his father. We know that this son's sympathies remained with his mother—and that she remained the formidable mistress of the plantation at "Big Sand" until her death there at the end of the Civil War. She ignored the fact that George Fisher had divorced her in the Republic of Texas. Mississippi did not recognize a divorce obtained in a foreign country, and neither did Mrs. Fisher.

In 1851 when Hiram Fisher returned home from California, the young Forty-niner "fotched back four saddle-bags full of gold money." Or so said old Aunt Jinsey, who lived to be one hundred years old, and died in 1931. She said it "taken 'em all night long

to count it," and from the next room she could hear it "drappin' on the table." We believe that George Fisher at that time was glad that Hiram could thus make "provision" for the ones at home. As for himself, he probably hoped to do better than he did in his business ventures in Panama.

The 1850's were a period of prosperity on the Fisher plantation and in the region. Roads had been improved; Vicksburg, in Warren County, was now an important river port; Jackson, in Hinds, had for some years been the capital of the state; Port Gibson remained rich and conservative, with its schools and its churches. There had been railroads of a sort in Mississippi since the 1840's; now, though it was pleasanter to go by boat, travelers could go by rail to Memphis or to New Orleans, and even ladies "rode the train" between Vicksburg and Jackson. Captain Joseph Regan's catalogue[8] announcement in 1854 for the Southern Female College, located not far from "Twin Halls," stated that students coming from a distance

> may come by boat to Grand Gulf and there change to a Big Black river steamboat for Baines' Landing; there a college hack will meet them. Else, at Grand Gulf change to the stage and come direct to the College.

At this landing, or rather, at Hall's Ferry, there was a good store, kept by George Henderson.[9] There were many flourishing plantations and farms in the county, with various facilities; the Fishers had a horsepower cotton gin; on their property, and available for their use, someone else had a sawmill.

When in 1854 George Fisher, fresh from Washington and his productive interview with John Livingston, came to Claiborne County in order to give the quitclaim deed to his sons, he probably noted many "improvements" in the familiar countryside. We may note, too, that as soon as the family property was thus settled, both the older sons were married—George W. on July 2, 1854 and Hiram on July 14. This was George W.'s second marriage.

When in 1861—that date so full of tragic significance for the South—George Fisher returned, to make his last visit to "Twin Halls" on Big Sand, we do not know much of what was said or done or thought, though we cannot cease conjecture. By now two of his sons had sons. In fact, the "citizen of the world" had

had nine grandsons by 1861, though two of them had died as infants. As we have recently discovered, he himself had within the last year or two married his fourth wife. Mississippi had just seceded from the Union, and patriotism and courage ran high—though the Convention held in Jackson in January had shown less enthusiasm for the Confederacy lately formed in Montgomery than for the Sovereign State of Mississippi itself,[10] now more or less expecting invasion from all directions (*except* from Alabama) and more or less beginning to wonder how to defend Vicksburg. It was rumored that the Mississippi had just been closed at both New Orleans and St. Louis; or that it soon would be, hard as such things were to believe. The dark and bloody days were just ahead, though to those who still scoffed at the North, trying in its folly to exist without cotton, they were as yet invisible in the quiet sunshine.

Lou Fisher was twelve years old in 1861, and well he remembered his grandfather's visit. He thought the old Federalist came to warn his family, to see them, to tell them it would not be possible for the South to destroy the Federal Union of the United States, or to leave it; and to say that they ought not to bear arms against that Union. We wonder if George Fisher, when he wrote to Mr. R. C. Wyllie from San Francisco in the ensuing August, chatting of John Ricord and of Prince Kamehameha, and discussing the Secession of the South—we wonder, indeed, if he mentioned anything or anybody in Claiborne County.

It had now been fifty years since Elizabeth Davis had come with the rest of the Maryland settlers down the Natchez Trace, and almost as many since George Fisher had come down the river and made application for a license to open a tavern, and then a tailor shop, in Port Gibson. These two elderly people, separated now for almost a quarter of a century, must have encountered each other there in the old house, with its two halls and its strongly built chimneys and its wide roof, in the manner of the proverbial immovable body and irresistible force. Some of the old Negroes used to recall, "Ole Miss got so big she couldn't hardly go thoo the do'," and we know how inexhaustible was the physical and intellectual energy of George Fisher. Old Aunt Jinsey said, "Ole

marster tole me, he said, 'Take care of ole Miss,' and he rid off and never come back no more."

The grandson used to tell how the grandfather galloped away on a black stud horse: he had on a high hat and a long-tailed coat, and as he disappeared round the bend in the road, "he was a-wavin,' and his coat-tails were a-standin' out straight." Then "Uncle Lou" Fisher would add: "And that was the last of Grandpa."

II. Colonial Ancestry of the Davis Family of the Eastern Shore of Maryland

We now give some account of the colonial history of Reuben Davis and of his wife Sarah Disharoon, adapting the outline form offered by the genealogical authorities we cite, and adding brief biographical notes based on deductions drawn from a variety of sources. So far as practicable we give references to records, but we have not attempted to draw these into any one consistent form.

The Maryland provincial government identified all containers of county records with alphabetical labels: thus birth, marriage, and death registrations of Somerset County for 1650-1720 are designated as I. K. L.

Two principal secondary references will be to Jane Baldwin, ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore, 1904), cited as Baldwin; and to William Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: A study in Foundations and Founders* (Richmond, Va.: Whitted and Shepperson, 1935), cited as Torrence.

All Maryland and county records are to be located in the Hall of Records in Annapolis, either as originals or as microfilm copies. These are cited by liber and folio, or by names of counties. Worcester was cut off from Somerset County in 1742-45; after 1745, the designation is changed.

All the following research has been done by Walter Russell Fisher, mainly in the Hall of Records in Annapolis, and supplemented from Claiborne County records in Port Gibson, Miss.

The Davis Family of Somerset County

1661 - 1811

First Generation

Three brothers, William, Thomas, and RICHARD DAVIS were settled in the Manakin section, south of Back Creek, 1661, coming from Nansemond Co., Va.

William and RICHARD continued to reside in Somerset Co., Thomas returned to Nansemond Co., Va., ca. 1684. William Davis m. Aug. 1667, Ann Hooper, and had issue . . .

Torrence, page 440.

RICHARD DAVIS m. ca. 1675 Elizabeth Barrey, who d. 1692. On the Barrey family we cite Torrence, page 436: Philip Barrey with wife Olive in the Manakin section in 1662 had warrant for transporting himself, wife, and dau. Elizabeth.

Issue of this Philip and Olive Barrey:

1. Elizabeth b. 1659, m. Richard Davis (as above)
2. Gresignon, b. 1664, m. Charles Jones

For 1. and 2. Torrence cites I. K. L., Liber 5, pages 209-211.

RICHARD DAVIS and Elizabeth (Barrey) Davis had issue

1.	Martha,	b. 1676
2.	Richard,	b. 1679
3.	WILLIAM,	b. 1682
4.	John,	b. 1684
5.	Elizabeth,	b. 1687
6.	Rosannah,	b. 1690

For all the above, Torrence cites Entry Book 9, page 21; Order Book 5, pages 269-285; Liber 7, page 312.

From Baldwin, vol. 3, page 123; Liber 7, Folio 282: abstract of the Will of RICHARD DAVIS, Somerset Co., Md. Jan. 15, 1696

Nov. 11, 1696

To dau. Martha and heirs, personalty . . . son Richard ex. . . . To three sons Richard, WILLIAM, and John, and heirs, plantation equally divided, 250 acres each, between Fishing and Back creek.

To son WILLIAM and heirs, dwelling plantation, "Davis's Lott," 300 acres.

Test.: Nathaniel Horsey, Wm. Colbourne, Ephraim Wilson. "Davis's Lott," 300 acres, had been patented in 1666 for RICHARD DAVIS, on Back Creek, in Somerset co. Certificate #7, folio 309.

Second Generation

WILLIAM DAVIS, b. Feb. 20, 1682 (I. K. L.), at Back Creek in Somerset Co., Md.; d. 1712 in Somerset Co.,: m. ca. 1700 Deborrah....., who d. 1713. His estate filed 1712, Liber 13, Folio 524, box 2, folder 17. Devisees: widow Deborrah Davis, son DANIEL DAVIS, dau. Priscilla Davis.

From Baldwin, vol. 3, page 243 (13-528): abstract of the Will of Deborrah Davis, Somerset co., Md. Feb. 9, 1712
Jan. 28, 1713

To son DANIEL and dau. Priscilla, aged 7, entire estate. Rev. Will Hampton, ex.
Test.: Samuel Rownal, Tabby Pruett.

Third Generation

DANIEL DAVIS, b. ca. 1700, in Somerset co., Md.; d. May, 1747, in Worcester Co., Md.; m. Dec. 20, 1727, Elizabeth Richardson (See Richardson, below), b. 1710 in Somerset Co., Md.; d. after 1752.

Will of DANIEL DAVIS, dated May 7, 1747, Worcester Co., Md.; proven June 3, 1747, shows as legatees: wife Elizabeth Davis and seven children: William, JOHN, Isaac, Daniel, James, Levine, and Judah Davis.

See Worcester County Wills, Liber 25, Folio 68; Somerset County Marriage Registrations, vol. 21, page 168.

Fourth Generation

JOHN DAVIS, b. 1729 or 1730, in Somerset Co., Md.; d. July, 1789, in Worcester Co., Md.; m. ca. 1760, in Md., Clear Trower, who d. 1820 in Somerset Co., Md.

Military records:

JOHN DAVIS, as lieut. and capt. in Wicomico Battalion, Worcester Militia, under Col. William Hopewell, was commissioned lieut. Aug. 30, 1777, and capt. May 27, 1779. This record, established by the Maryland Historical Society, is the one accepted by the Sons of the American Revolution (S. A. R.)

JOHN DAVIS also served as 2nd lieut. in 24th Battalion, Worcester County Militia, under Capt. Zadoc Purnell. This is the record officially accepted by the D. A. R.

In Worcester County Wills, Liber J. W. 13, Folio 239 we find, in full, the

WILL of JOHN DAVIS:

In the name of God, Amen, I, JOHN DAVIS of Worcester County and State of Maryland knowing the certainty of death being of perfect mind and memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

Vizt: Item I give and bequeth unto my son RUBEN DAVIS one hundred and forty acres of land called Sandown being part of the land whereon I live to be laid off for him at the east and by the north and south line, twenty-four acres of land adjoining the aforesaid land called Davis Lott and eight acres of land Hungry Quarter that I bought of William Hopewell to be laid off at the Upper End of said land to him and his heirs and assigns forever also one horse and saddle one bed and furniture and one cow and calf one Ewe and lamb one set of harrow teeth two axes two wedges one grubbing hoe four chairs one pewter dish one cason one chest and cross-legged table one gun to him and his heirs and assigns forever provided that when he comes to the age of twenty-one years he shall give a discharge for that part of his wife's portion that he received of George Disharoon then all the above-said articles that he has now in his possession to remain his but if he should refuse to give the discharge to George Disharoon Executor or to my Executor then the whole of the above said lands, household goods, and creters to fall to my son Eli Davis.

Item I give and bequeth to my son Stephen Davis one hundred sixty acres of land it being the remainder of Sandown whereon I now live and fifty-two acres of land called Castle Fine and eight

acres of land called Hungry Quarter to him and his heirs and assigns forever upon this express condition that he doth not interrupt his mother, my wife, Clear Trower Davis in the full and free enjoyment of my dwelling plantation during her widowhood.

Item I give and bequeth to my son Eli Davis one Negro called Manuell. . . .

Item I give and bequeth to my son Daniel Davis one tract of land called Adventure containing forty-five acres of land. . . .

Item I give and bequeth to Nelly Austin five shillings. . . .

Item I give and bequeth to my wife Clear Trower Davis 1/3 part of all my personal Estate after my just debts are paid to her and her heirs and assigns forever.

Item I give and bequeth all the remaining part of my estate not before mentioned to be equally divided between my seven children Vizt: Leah, Tabby, Nelly, Stephen, Daniel, Eli, and Sinah. . . .

Lastly I do appoint my well beloved wife Clear Trower Davis to be my executrix to my last Will and Testament revoking all other and former wills made by me.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Seal this 13th day of July A.D. 1789.

(Signed) JOHN DAVIS of Daniel

Witnesses:

Wm Bigland, John Flint,
George Parsons

This will proves to us that our ancestor Reuben Davis, who came to Mississippi in 1811, was the son of John Davis and Clear (Trower) Davis, and that (before he came of age) he had married a daughter of George Disharoon.

The Disharoon genealogy is given below. Those of the Richardson, Roach, Hall, and Curtis families, all connected by marriage with Davis or Disharoon, are then briefly indicated.

Part of the Worcester County records were destroyed in 1795 when the Court House at Snow Hill, Md., was burned, and birth records of the Salisbury area were destroyed in 1812 when Stepney Parish church was burned. It is likely that Reuben Davis lived in or

near Salisbury, Somerset County, and that of his eleven children, the nine born in Maryland were born in Salisbury; two of them, Elizabeth and William Davis, later gave Salisbury as their birthplace.

The data we now give on Reuben Davis, as Fifth Generation, and on his children and grandchildren, have been gathered from a variety of sources, mainly records of Claiborne County, extant in Port Gibson, and are here presented in a form convenient for the reader who wishes to review the Davis family of "Twin Halls."

Fifth Generation, with Data on Sixth and Seventh

REUBEN DAVIS was born in 1768 or 1769 in Worcester Co., Md. In 1788 or 1789, and probably in that county, he married Sarah Disharoon, dau. of George and Sarah (Roach) Disharoon. She was born there ca. 1770. In 1811 they moved from the neighboring county of Somerset, Md., to Claiborne Co., Territory of Miss., where they lived at "Twin Halls," a plantation home near the Big Black. He died there, May 22, 1821; she, on June 11, 1828.

Children: 11, the first 9 born in Salisbury, Somerset Co., Md., the last 2 at "Twin Halls," Claiborne Co.

1. Leah was born about 1790. Prior to 1817, she was married (1st) to John Fulkes (Fulks), of Md., who died without issue in 1823. Leah was married (2nd) on Oct. 11, 1825 to James Robinson, who was born in Edgefield, S. C., Apr. 4, 1779, died in Claiborne Co., Feb., 1832. (Records of Claiborne Co.; Marriages, Book 2, page 272). Three children:

	Born	Died
Hiram Marshall	ca. 1826	1835
Mary Ann	1828	Jan. 26, 1890
Thomas	1830	1847

Leah was married (3rd), Sept 8, 1836, to Gideon Alford. She died Nov., 1837.

2. John J. was born about 1792. On Oct. 10, 1828 he married Frances Twiner, dau. of John Twiner, a Revolutionary

soldier in Md. (Claiborne Co., Marriages, Book 3, page 72). They lived first near Rocky Springs on land bought in 1824; they then moved across the Mississippi to Tensas Parish, La., where, prior to June 10, 1833 he died without issue.

3. Elizabeth was born Mar. 27, 1795 in Salisbury, Somerset Co., Md. (Family Bible). On Oct. 8, 1818 in Port Gibson she was married to George Fisher, who was born April 30, 1795 in Stuhlweissenburg, Hungary, and died June 11, 1873 in San Francisco, Cal. (Claiborne Co., Marriages, Book 1, page 72). Five children; first 2, born in Port Gibson; last 3, at "Twin Halls."

Margaret	July 5, 1819	Sept. 4, 1821
Hiram	May 19, 1821	Dec. 19, 1884
George W.	July 15, 1823	Feb. 16, 1902
John	Sept. 5, 1825	March 1877
Maria Louisa	Nov. 28, 1830	Dec. 14, 1840

Because of her refusal to move to Texas with him, George Fisher divorced his wife Elizabeth in 1839, in the Republic of Texas.

4. William was born July 2, 1798 and died July 7, 1848 in Port Gibson. He is buried there, in Wintergreen cemetery, in the Chess family lot. His wife was Mary Chess, whose family also came from Maryland in 1811. In spite of William's long association with "the court house" in Claiborne Co., no record of the marriage appears; records were destroyed in 1817, but he then would have been only nineteen. He was married prior to 1837. He died without issue, and his widow inherited his estate. He was a surveyor, civil engineer, and held offices in Claiborne Co.

5. James W. was born about 1800. On Apr. 22, 1829 he married Elizabeth Henderson of Rocky Springs, dau. of John Henderson of Md. He had a store at Rocky Springs. On Jan. 1, 1835 he was sworn in as constable for the Third District, Claiborne Co. (Bonds, vol. 2, page 216). On Feb. 24, 1844 he and his wife sold their property and moved to Vevay, Switzerland Co., Ind., where their children grew up.

6. Joseph F. was born about 1802. On Dec. 12, 1832 he disposed of his property in Claiborne Co. (Deed Book O, page 67), and moved to Natchez. Thence in 1835 he moved to Vevay, Switzerland Co., Ind., where he married and reared a family.

7. Salathiel was born in 1804. A printer, he lived in Natchez, where he died unmarried Nov. 8, 1827. Obituary notice is in Natchez *Herald Gazette.* (State Archives, Jackson).

8. Jephtha was born in 1808. He died at "Twin Halls" in Oct., 1821

9. Louisa Ann was born in 1810. On July 3, 1833 she was married (1st) to Alexander G. Trimble, son of John A. Trimble, second sheriff to serve in Claiborne Co. (Claiborne Co., Marriages, Book 3A, page 172). The Trimble family came from Ga. Two children, born in Claiborne Co.:

Cornelia Elizabeth	1834
Marguerette Gertrude	1836

The Trimbles in 1837 moved to Carroll Parish, La. There three children were born:

John Alexander	1838
Aden Jeptha	1840
Louisa Ann	1842

Trimble died there, in 1842.

On Aug. 19, 1844, in Carroll Parish, Louisa Ann was married (2nd) to Thomas J. Couch. Their two children were born in Carroll Parish:

Harrison J.	1847
Sabastance (?)	1849

(Court Records, Carroll Parish, La., July 18, 1844; and Census Records, Carroll Parish, 1850. It is in the latter that the spelling occurs of the last child's name; possibly it was Sebastian).

Louisa Ann (Davis) Couch died there, in the cholera epidemic of 1854. It is said that her husband and their two children died at the same time.

10. Aden was born in 1812, in Claiborne Co. Unmarried, he died June 10, 1833 at "Twin Halls."
11. Ater was born in 1814. On Oct. 10, 1837 he married Ellen Patton of Claiborne Co. (Marriages, Book 4, page 274). In Nov., 1837 he was made guardian of Leah's three children. He died March, 1841 in Port Gibson, leaving one daughter. His widow was remarried in 1844 to John St. John. The St. Johns sold out and moved away from the county. Ater Davis was an attorney, and he served one term as Clerk *pro. tem.* of the Chancery Court in Claiborne Co., 1839-40.

It is to be noted that of Reuben Davis' children not only Leah and Elizabeth left issue (genealogy traced), but also James W., Joseph F., Louisa Ann, and possibly Ater have descendants (their genealogy untraced). The family name Davis is a common one in Mississippi and elsewhere; hence the importance of identifying the colonial origins.

The Disharoon Family of Somerset and Worcester Counties, Maryland (1670-1788)

First Generation

MICHAEL DISHAROON (Disharoon, Disharune) and wife Jone were settled in the Wicomico section, ca. 1670.

Their four sons (I. K. L., Somerset Co.,) were:

Michael	b. Mar. 16, 1773
JOHN	b. May 5, 1677
Lewis	b. Mar. 3, 1678
Francis	b. Nov. 1, 1681

MICHAEL'S will, proven in 1790, Somerset Co., Wills, liber 7, folio 286, lists also two daughters, Margaret and Martha.

Second Generation

JOHN Disharoone, b. May 5, 1677, at Wicomico, Somerset Co., Md.; d. May, 1754, Worchester Co., Md.; m. ca. 1700, ..., who d. prior to 1754.

Will, dated Mar. 19, 1754, Worcester Co.; proven May 16, 1754. Legatees: his sons Michael, JOHN, and William Disharoone; daus. Mary Dorman, Betty Orms; and five grandchildren: Peter, Anne, Leada, Thomas, and Joseph Waples, children of "my daughter Abigail, dec'd." Somerset Co., Wills, Liber 57, Folio 353.

Third Generation

JOHN DISHAROONE, Jr., b. ca. 1700, Somerset Co.; d. Dec. 1761; m. (1st) ca. 1730, Mary Lonequake, who d. prior to 1756. She was dau. of Francis Lonequake who in his will of Mar. 2, 1754, proven Jan. 1, 1759, Somerset Co., lists as legatees his wife Rachael Lonequake; son William Lonequake; dau. Arabella Benston; grandsons Francis Lonequake, "son of my son George, and William Lonequake, son of my son Stephen; son Thomas Lonequake; grandson Cannon Lonequake, son of my son Cannon; grandsons Obadiah Disharoone and Francis Disharoone, sons of my dau. Mary (dec'd.)."

> Witnessed by John Elzy, John Humphrey, John Finch. Will Book 30, page 21, Somerset County Wills, Princess Anne, Md., cited in Cotton and Burns, *Calendar of Somerset County Wills.*

This same JOHN DISHAROONE, Jr. (ca. 1700-1761) m. (2nd) prior to 1756, Saborah, believed to be the dau. of John Roach, II. (See Roach genealogy, below.). In his will, dated Aug. 23, 1756, proven Dec. 18, 1761, Worcester Co., Wills, he lists as legatees his wife (unidentified), and children Obadiah, Stephen, Thomas, GEORGE, Francis, Sarah, Mary, Elizabeth.

Witnessed by William Roach, Sr., Stephen Roach, Jr., William Roach, Jr., Worcester Co. Wills, Liber 31, Folio 547.

"Then came Saborah Disharoone, widow of John Disharoone and waived her bequeaths." Accounts and Inventories, John Disharoone, Liber 50, Folio 364, Jan. 8, 1762.

Fourth Generation

GEORGE DISHAROON, b. ca. 1738, Somerset Co.; d. ca. 1787, Worcester Co.; m. ca. 1760, Sarah Roach, who was b. ca. 1740, Somerset Co.; d. after 1770, and prior to 1773, Worcester Co.

(See Roach Genealogy, below.). This approximate date of marriage is deduced from the dating of a deed:

> "George Disharoon and Sarah his wife," Dec. 12, 1763, in Deeds, Somerset Co., Office of Clerk of Court, Princess Anne, Md., Liber 025, Folio 159. In a later deed dated Sept. 25, 1772, in Deeds, Worcester Co., Office of Clerk of Court, Snow Hill, Md., Liber 1, Folio 145, George Disharoon identifies his three children as John, Stephen, and SALLY. It is this Sally, or SARAH, who was married to REUBEN DAVIS. (See Davis Genealogy, above, page 183.). Neither here nor in any subsequent papers does the name of George Disharoon's wife appear; hence, we deduce the approximate date of her death.

Military record: in Revolutionary Papers, Somerset Co., in Hall of Records, Annapolis, under date Sept. 26, 1776, the name of George Disharoon appears on the payroll of Capt. Samuel Horsey, for an expedition to Princess Anne, Md.

The Inventories of the estate of George Disharoon were burned at Snow Hill, Md., in 1795.

The Richardson Family of Somerset County, 1675-1727

First Generation

DAVID RICHARDSON. Abstract of Will, Somerset Co., dated Dec. 23, 1695; proven, May 31, 1696.

To son John and heirs, 500 acres, Wiltshire.

To son WILLIAM, ex. and heirs, Weymouth.

To elder dau. Elizabeth, young daus. Ann and Hannah, and son afsd., personalty.

Overseer, Jules Sonhill.

Witnesses, Thomas Parramore, Samuel Hopkins.

Somerset Co., Wills, Liber 7, Folio 157.

Second Generation

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, b. Dec. 2, 1683, Somerset Co. (I.K.L.); d. April, 1727; m. ca. 1705, Hannah Scarborough, dau. of Matthew Scarborough (I.K.L.) This Matthew Scarborough in his will (Baldwin, vol. 5, page 123, 18-294) bequeathed 300 acres of "Scarborough's Castle" to his son-in-law William Richardson, and heirs.

Abstract of Will of William Richardson, Somerset Co., dated May 10, 1727; proven Jul. 31, 1727.

To son John, Wiltshire and personalty.

To son Samuel, and heirs, 300 acres, left testator by Matthew Scarborough, dec'd., eastmost end of "Scarborough's Castle," and personalty.

To son Daniel and heirs, Dwelling Plantation, "Waymouth," and personalty.

To dau. Annah, personalty, including horse known as bro. William's, dec'd.

To wife Hannah 1/3 personal estate, absolutely, and use of 1/3 dwelling plantation during life.

To children residue of estate, divided as follows:

dau. Annah at dec. of testator, son John at age of 18, dau. ELIZABETH and Tabitha at age of 16, son Daniel and David at age 21. Ex. wife Hannah and son John.

Test. Nathan Hopkins, Dennis Hopkins,
Thomas Newton.

Baldwin, vol. 6, page 44 (19-280).

Third Generation

ELIZABETH RICHARDSON, b. 1710, Somerset Co., (I.K.L.); d. after 1752; m. Dec. 20, 1727, Somerset Co., to DANIEL DAVIS. (See Davis Genealogy, above).

The Roach Family of Somerset County
1661-1760

First Generation

JOHN ROACH (Roch, Rock) was an early settler in Annemessex coming to that region with Stephen Horsey in 1661 from Northampton Co., Va. On Feb. 4, 1663/4, he m. Sarah Williams, dau. of Michael and Sarah Williams, and stepdau. at that time of Stephen Horsey. See Torrence, *Old Somerset,* page 457.

This Michael Williams, who d. before 1650, and his wife Sarah, of Northampton Co., Va., had three children:

Michael, Thomas, and SARAH, who m. JOHN ROACH. After the death of her first husband, Mrs. Sarah Williams had m. (2nd) Stephen Horsey, prior to Dec. 1651.

For this, Torrence, *op. cit.,* page 463, cites Northampton Co. Order Book, 1650-1654.

John Roach d. 1717/18. His will, drawn Feb. 8, 1708/9, and proven Mar. 7, 1717/18, named as legatees his wife Sarah and their eleven children. The four sons were JOHN Jr., Nathaniel, Michael, and Samuel; the seven dau. were Sarah, Mary, Elizabeth, Abigail, Arabella, Rebecca, and Hannah. Witnesses: J. West, John West, Jr., Stephen Horsey, Thomas West.

Liber E. B., #9, Folio 66, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

To his eldest son JOHN II., b. 1664, John Roach left the dwelling Plantation of 150 acres, called "Make Peace" with 50 acres adjoining out of the tract called "Exchange." On the original grant, named because a peace pact had been made there, between white settlers and Indians, John Roach had in 1671 erected the house which still stands. Today the whole tract, handed down through several generations of the Roach family, is the property of the State of Maryland. The original survey reads, "Make Peace—150 acres on Great Annemessex, surveyed for John Roach, ye 11th day of Nov. A. D. 1663."

E. B. 5, Land Grant Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Second Generation

JOHN ROACH II, d. Dec. 12, 1664, at Wicomico (I.K.L.); d. May, 1727, at Summerfield, Somerset Co. "Summerfield" was his dwelling place, near "Make Peace." In 1693, in Somerset Co., he m. Alice Hall, who was b. June 2, 1673 (I.K.L.); d. after 1727. (See Hall Genealogy, below). In his will, dated Oct. 6, 1725, proven June 1, 1727, he names as legatees his wife Alice and their seven children:

Catherine Fooks, William, John, CHARLES, Isaac, Stephen, and SABRA. (It is this Sabra, or Saborah, who is "believed" to have been 2nd wife of John Disharoon II. See Disharoon Genealogy above).

Witnesses: John Disharoon, Mary Disharoon, Michael Disharoon, Rebecah Stephens.

Wills, Liber E. B. 9, Folio III, Hall of Records Annapolis.

Third Generation

CHARLES ROACH, b. ca. 1700, Somerset Co.; d. 1748, Somerset Co.; m. ca. 1730 Rachael Curtis, who was b. ca. 1710, d. Mar. 1794. (See Curtis Genealogy below). The estate of Charles Roach was filed Aug. 27, 1748. The widow, Rachael Roach, administrator, identified her children as,

William, Abigail, Jemima, Jacob, Saborah, Stephen, SARAH, CHARLES (II), and Rachael.

Accounts and Inventory, estate of Charles Roach, Liber 25, Folio 186, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Rachel Roach, widow of Charles Roach, dated her will Aug. 5, 1793; it was proven Mar. 18, 1794.

Liber E. B. 17, Folio 299, Princess Anne, Somerset Co. Wills.

Fourth Generation

SARAH ROACH, b. ca. 1740, Somerset Co.; d. after 1770 and prior to 1775, Worcester Co.; m. ca. 1760 to GEORGE DISHAROON. (See Disharoon Genealogy, above). This marriage is proven by notations upon the Accounts of the Estate of

CHARLES (II), son of Charles and Rachael (Curtis) Roach, above, under date of July 25, 1774. The distribution lists his devisees as,

Rachael Roach, mother

Levin Gunby, in right of his wife Saborah (Roach)

Stephen Roach, brother

GEORGE DISHAROON, in right of his wife SARAH (Roach), William Roach, brother (administrator)

The remainder 1/6 to be secured to Charles and Ann Bannister, children of a deceased sister.

Accounts and Inventory, estate of Charles Roach (II), Liber 71, Folio 190, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

The Hall Family of Somerset County

1665-1724

First Generation

CHARLES HALL, who d. 1695, was settled in the Annemessex section in 1665, having come from Accomack Co., Va. The will of Charles Hall, Annemessex, Somerset Co., drawn June 9, 1695, and proven Aug. 13, 1695, shows that he left to his wife Alice (executrix), and her heirs, 50 acres called "Hopkins Destiny"; personalty to five children:

SARAH CURTIS, ALICE ROACH, Richard Revell Hall, Mary Hall, and Charles Hall; and to a son-in-law William Planner (his wife being deceased).

Witnesses: Stephen Horsey, Nicke Fountaine, Mary Fountaine. In Baldwin, Vol. 2, Page 98 (7-129).

The will of Alice Hall, widow of Charles Hall, dated Mar. 7, 1717, and proven April 23, 1724, indicates the approximate date of her death.

Somerset Co., Wills, Liber 8, page 253, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Second Generation

SARAH HALL, b. May 26, 1668, Annemessex, Somerset Co.; d. prior to 1721; m. 1693 to James Curtis. (I.K.L.) (See Curtis Genealogy, below).

ALICE HALL, b. June 2, 1673, Annemessex, Somerset Co.; d. after 1727; m. 1693 to John Roach. (I.K.L.) (See Roach Genealogy, above).

The Curtis Family of Somerset County

1665-1740

First Generation

DANIEL CURTIS, who d. 1681, was in Accomack Co., Va., in 1661, and in the Annemessex section in 1665. He m. (1st) Elizabeth Greene; issue, one dau. Elizabeth. He m. (2nd) Jan. 1, 1665, Mary.....; issue, one son, James, b. Nov. 29, 1666. This James Curtis in 1693 m. SARAH HALL, (See Hall Genealogy, above). (I.K.L.), and E.B. 9, page 72; E.B. 13, page 146, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Daniel Curtis served as Capt.-Lieut. in the Somerset Co., militia, 1678. Archives of Md., Annapolis, vol. VII, page 97.

All above data derived from Torrence, *Old Somerset,* page 440.

The will of Daniel Curtis, dated Dec. 20, 1680, proven Feb. 2, 1681, lists as legatees his wife Mary, and son JAMES CURTIS. In the event of the death of this son, without issue, then ALICE, dau. of Alice and Charles Hall. (See Hall Genealogy, above).

Witnesses: Alice Hall, John Heath.

Baldwin, vol. 1, page 101.

Second Generation

JAMES CURTIS, b. Nov. 27, 1666, Annemessex, Somerset Co.; d. Oct.-Nov., 1721; m. 1693, Sarah Hall, who was b. May 26, 1668, Annemessex; d. prior to 1721. (I.K.L.). (See Hall Genealogy, above).

The will of James Curtis, dated April 18, 1720, and proven Nov. 16, 1721, lists as legatees his children:

Catherine Walstone, Charles, Sarah, Esther, RACHAEL.

Witnesses: Wm. Handy, Ebenezer Handy, John Benson.

Baldwin, vol. 5, page 40 (16-311).

Third Generation

RACHAEL CURTIS, b. 1711, Somerset Co.; d. March, 1794; m. ca. 1730, to Charles Roach. (I.K.L.). (See Roach Genealogy, above).

III. Leah Davis

On March 28, 1821, some two months before he died, Reuben Davis made the following will:

The Will of Reuben Davis

I, Reuben Davis of Claiborne County in the State of Mississippi being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding considering the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time thereof and being desirous to settle my wordly affairs and thereby to be the better prepared to leave this world when it shall please good (sic) to call me hence do therefore make and publish this my last will and testament in manner and form following——

That is to say first and principally I commit my Soul unto the hands of Almighty God and my body to the earth to be decently burried: and after my debts are paid, and my wifes third taken out I devise and bequeath as follows——

I give and bequeath unto my eldest son John J. Davis the sum of Five dollars. To my daughter Betsy Fisher the Sum of Five dollars. To my son William Davis the sum of Five dollars. To my son James W. Davis the sum of Five dollars. To my son Joseph Davis the sum of Five dollars. To my son Salathiel Davis the sum of Five dollars, to be paid to them by my Executors there heirs or assigns——

I give and bequeath all the ballance of my estate both real and personal to my four youngest children that is to say Jeptha Davis, Louisa Davis, Adin Davis, and Ator Davis to be retained in the hands of my executors until they become of age or get married: and then equally divided amongst them there heirs or assigns——

And lastly, I do hereby constitute and appoint my wife Sarah Davis and my son William Davis jointly executors of this my last will and Testament revoking and annuling all former wills by me heretofore made ratifying and con-

firming this and none other to be my last will and testament. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this twenty Eighth day March in the (year) of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Twenty one.

Signed sealed published and declared by Reuben Davis the above named testator as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto.

REUBEN DAVIS

William Brown
Abraham Atkinson

Philip Alston

Probate: 8 Oct. 1821. Recorded in Book A, page 109, Probate Court, Claiborne Co.

The original, in the handwriting of the lawyer, Philip Alston, and signed by Reuben Davis, is now in the possession of Lawrence E. Mallette, Greenwood, Miss. The spelling of the Davis children's names may be Alston's rather than Reuben's.[11]

In this will Reuben Davis mentions each of his eleven children by name, except Leah, his eldest. Whether or not the omission was intentional we cannot now determine. Possibly the father disapproved of her first marriage, a few years before, to John Fulkes (Fulks). More likely the omission was accidental, an oversight on the part of the lawyer who drew up the document. Reuben's clear intention was to provide for his wife and his four youngest children; to each of the older children, all over sixteen in 1821, he left token sums of five dollars each. There was no need to provide for them, as they were already established in life, and able to take care of themselves; or possibly he had already made gifts to them. Still, since in his will he did mention "my daughter Betsy Fisher," it may seem odd that he did not in the same manner list Leah Fulkes.

Nevertheless, legal proof of the identity of Leah as a daughter of Reuben Davis is established by several other documents. First, a record of the (2nd) marriage, Oct. 11, 1825, of Mrs. Leah Davis Fulkes to James Robinson appears in the Marriage Records of Claiborne County, vol. 2, page 272.

Second, there is a Trust Deed (that is, a Trust Fund), dated Jan. 1, 1828, by which James Robinson places to William Davis certain assets in trust for his wife Leah Robinson and their son Hiram Robinson, and for all other children to be born to them. This deed is recorded in the Land Records of Claiborne County, vol. K, pages 9-11; William Davis, clerk.

Third, in a "Petition of Heirs of Reuben Davis, dec'd, to sell Real Estate," dated Nov. 10, 1828, James Robinson is included (with William Davis and James W. Davis) as an heir. He could not have been so except through marriage to Leah. The petition reads as follows:

> To the Honorable Orphans Court of Claiborne County:
>
> The petition of William Davis, James W. Davis and James Robinson, in right of his wife, and William Davis as guardian to minor heirs of Reuben Davis, deceased, respectfully showeth to your Honor that the said Reuben Davis, deceased, in and by his will and testament, did devise and bequeath to his four youngest children, viz., Jeptha, Louisa, Adin, and Ater Davis, all his estate both real and personal, with the exception of a legacy of Five Dollars to each of his other heirs, and one of the said four heirs, Jeptha Davis, having died without coming of age and without legal issue—Your Petitioners conceive themselves to be entitled to a distributive share of the said one fourth part of said estate bequeathed to Jeptha Davis, dec'd, and pray your Honor to order the real estate of said decedent, Reuben Davis, dec'd., to be sold by the administrator under proper legal restrictions, we believing that the same will be advantageous to the heirs generally, and are fully satisfied that a division of the

same cannot be had without considerable injury to each of the heirs entitled to a share therein.

Respectfully submitted & filed Nov. 10, 1828 Wm. Davis, Reg.	William Davis James W. Davis James Robinson	William Davis, as Guardian of the Minor Heirs

Deposited in Box D5, Letters of Administration, Probate Court, Claiborne County

Along with two of the older Davis heirs, who in the will had been named to receive the five dollar legacies, Leah is here being implicitly accepted as one entitled to a share in the deceased Jeptha's "one fourth."

That this claim for Leah to be included with the direct heirs was not questioned by the court is further proved by the issuance, on the same day, of the following Subpoena. In it Leah (Davis) Robinson is put upon the same footing as Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher: for both daughters of Reuben Davis, their husbands are cited to appear "personally" before the Orphans Court "in right of wife." Between the date of Reuben Davis' will (March 23, 1821), and these legal efforts to re-distribute his estate, not only had Reuben Davis himself died on May 22, 1821 and young Jeptha in October, 1821, but also Salathiel aged twenty-three, on Nov. 8, 1827, and their mother Sarah (Disharoon) Davis, on June 11, 1828; it was time for an adjustment in the family affairs. The Subpoena reads:

State of Mississippi

To the Sheriff of Claiborne County—Greetings:

We command you to cite William Davis, as Guardian, and in his own right, John J. Davis, George Fisher, in right of wife, James Robinson, in right of wife, James W. Davis and Joseph F. Davis, to be and personally appear before the Orphans Court of Claiborne County, on the fourth Monday of November instant and show cause if any they can why the real estate of the late Reuben Davis, dec'd. should not be sold, a part of the heirs hav-

ing petitioned our said Court for an order to sell the same, and have thus this writ seen.

Witness, P. A. Van Dorn, Esq.
Judge of Probate of the County
aforesaid, this 2nd Monday of Nov.,
A.D. 1828

William Davis, Reg.

Filed in Box D5, Letters of Administration, Probate Court, Claiborne County.

Thus, as we have proved by these documents, and already indicated above, Leah Davis was the eldest child of Reuben Davis, and was the wife of James Robinson, by whom she had two sons and one daughter. For the descendants of this daughter, Mary Ann (Robinson) Hanna, see Section IV.

The marriage of James Robinson and Leah was a second one for both of them. In Edgefield, South Carolina he had married (1st) Betsy Bugg. They moved to Alabama, where she is believed to have died without issue. About 1820 he came to Claiborne County, joining his brothers and sisters who had migrated there from Edgefield. James Robinson bought land in District 3, Rocky Springs Precinct, and later acquired a house and lot in Port Gibson. It was probably there that he and Leah lived, and their three children were born. We recall that they were married in 1825 at about the time George Fisher first went to Mexico, and that James Robinson died when his daughter Mary Ann was about four years old. It is noteworthy that the Hanna family, into which Mary Ann was to marry, came to Mississippi from Edgefield County, South Carolina at about the same time the Robinsons did.

Some of the available facts on the Robinson family may thus be summarized:

JOHN ROBINSON prior to 1744 married Lucy Fell, daughter of William Fell, founder of Fells Point, which later (with Jones Falls) became Baltimore, Md. He, with his son John Robinson, Jr., migrated to Edgefield Co., S.C., where he died in 1760. His children were John, Jr., William, Jerry, and James.

JOHN ROBINSON, JR. was born in Md. in 1744, and died in Claiborne Co., Miss., Nov. 10, 1808. In 1765 he married (1st)

Mary Raymond of Edgefield Co., S.C., who died there in 1799. She was the daughter of Mrs. Rebecca (Becroft) Raymond. About 1802 he (with his sons Raymond, John, William Fell, and Benjamin, and his daughters Lucy and Nancy), moved to Claiborne Co. He there in 1806 married (2nd) Mrs. Sarah (Bassett) Edwards, widow of James Edwards; she died Jan. 1, 1817.

Children: 11 by 1st wife, 2 by 2nd wife:

	Born	*Died*
Rebecca	Dec. 14, 1766	
Elizabeth	Nov. 20, 1768	
Raymond	Jan. 24, 1771	1836
John	Sept. 12, 1773	
JAMES	Apr. 4, 1779	Feb., 1832
Mary	1780	1860
Jerry R.	June 20, 1783	d.y.
William Fell	1785	Aug. 12, 1850
Lucy	Sept. 9, 1788	
Benjamin	June 18, 1790	
Nancy	Oct. 9, 1794	

Most of these eleven were married in Claiborne Co., or lived there; we are not here giving these data, as not being directly connected with our Davis, or Fisher, families, though they are important in the history of the county. We can see that when Leah (Davis) Fulkes married James Robinson the Davis family became connected with a large and important family group. It is of interest that Raymond Robinson, who lived in Hinds Co. and is buried near Clinton, named the town of Raymond for their mother's family.

The two sons (twins) of John Robinson, Jr. by his second wife "entered" thousands of acres of land in Carroll, Holmes, and Sunflower Cos.; they lived near what is now Sidon, Miss. They were:

	Born	*Died*
Alfred Bassett	Aug. 13, 1807	Oct. 10, 1858
Jeremiah Smith	Aug. 13, 1807	Nov. 13, 1879

Alfred Bassett Robinson married Nancy McDougall of Claiborne Co.; they were the great grandparents of Mrs. Greek L. Rice, who kindly gave us these records.

IV. The Descendants of Mary Ann (Robinson) Hanna, Daughter of Leah (Davis) Robinson

In tracing the colonial ancestry of Reuben Davis we considered him as of the fifth generation of the Davis family of Maryland, Leah and Elizabeth Davis as of the sixth. But now in order to present the descendants of Leah's daughter, we shall begin anew and consider Leah as of a *first* generation. Thus Leah's daughter Mary Ann will appear as of a second generation, corresponding to that of her contemporaries and cousins, Hiram, George W., and John Fisher—whose father George Fisher must constitute the *first* generation of our Fisher family.

That is, we conclude this chapter on the Davis family by presenting the descendants of Perry Humphrey Hanna and Mary Ann (Robinson) Hanna as being linked to the Fisher family through Leah, sister of Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher. We therefore have prefixed the initial L, assigning to Mary Ann the index numeral L 2(2). This shows that she was Leah's second child (Hiram Marshall and Thomas having been the first and the third), and that she was of the second generation (2).

In Chapter III we shall designate Hiram Fisher as H 2(2), George W. as G 3(2), and John as J 4(2). (Their sister Margaret was the first Fisher child, Maria Louisa the fifth). And so on, throughout. Adopted children are assigned no genealogical index numeral. The use of an asterisk (*) before a name indicates marriage, or that a second genealogical entry will follow.

L 2(2) MARY ANN ROBINSON on May 16, 1846 was married to Perry Humphrey Hanna, son of William H. and ***** (Humphrey) Hanna. The rites were celebrated in the home of her aunt, Louisa Ann (Davis) Couch, at Floyd, in Carroll Parish, La. Perry H. Hanna was born in Amite Co., Miss. in 1824, and died Dec. 10, 1871 at Illwarra, La. He was a cotton planter, in Carroll Parish.

Children: 11, surname HANNA, born in Carroll Parish, La.:

			Born	*Died*
	L 3(3)	James Andrew	1847	Jan. 24, 1890
	L 4(3)	Nannie	1849	d.y.
	L 5(3)	Marshall	1851	d.y.
*	L 6(3)	Cornelia Elizabeth	1853	June 7, 1899
	L 7(3)	Matilda	1855	d.y.
*	L 8(3)	Mary Ann	Feb. 10, 1857	Aug. 4, 1937
*	L 9(3)	Charles Perry	June 12, 1859	Feb. 3, 1941, at Delhi, La.
*	L 10(3)	Martha Spann	Jan. 30, 1862	Feb. 9, 1902
	L 11(3)	William Henry	1863	1884
	L 12(3)	Marandy Abram	1864	unm.
	L 13(3)	Jeptha	1866	d.y.

Hanna Family Data:

The Hanna family emigrated from Edgefield Co., S. C. to Wilkinson Co., Miss., about 1800.

Will of Henry Hanna of Amite Co., Miss., probated March 6, 1821:

Legatees: William H. Hanna, James Hanna (sons); Elizabeth Hanna, Nancy Hanna (daus.): Ann Hanna (niece)

Admns.: Marcus Gordon, John Knox, William H. Hanna (son)

Witnesses: John Nesmith and Zachariah Nettles

William H. Hanna died in 1832 in Madison Co., Miss. He married (1st) * * * * * Humphrey in Amite Co., Miss. prior to 1824. He married (2nd) in 1826 Ann Hanna in Wilkinson Co., Miss., a first cousin.

Children: by 1st wife, Perry Humphrey Hanna
by 2nd wife, a daughter, Christian name unknown, who married * * * * * Baxter.

L 6(3) CORNELIA ELIZABETH HANNA on April 17, 1896 was married to the Rev. Robert C. Grace, a Methodist minister.

L 8(3) MARY ANN HANNA on Jan. 31, 1878 at Floyd, Carroll

Parish, La., was married by Rev. Randall of the Methodist Church to Walter Franklin Love. He was born in Madison Co., Miss., Nov. 24, 1853 and died in Port Arthur, Tex., June 10, 1932. He was a railroad construction superintendent.

Children: 7, surname LOVE:

			Born	*Died*
	L 14(4)	Walter Perry	Oct. 29, 1878	Oct. 13, 1879
*	L 15(4)	Nellie Hanna	Jul. 26, 1880	
*	L 16(4)	Joseph Andrew	Sept. 6, 1882	Dec. 17, 1946
*	L 17(4)	Cornelia Elizabeth	Sept. 23, 1885	
	L 18(4)	Leah	Sept. 15, 1889	Aug. 20, 1890
	L 19(4)	Frances Marion	Dec. 26, 1891	Dec. 29, 1891
	L 20(4)	Robert Edwin	Mar. 28, 1893	Jul. 9, 1893

Ref.: Love family Bible, in possession of Mrs. O. S. Sydnes, High Island, Tex.

L 9(3) CHARLES PERRY HANNA on Jan. 14, 1886 in Floyd, La., married Mary Ann Hampton, (a niece of Gen. Wade Hampton), who died July 18, 1913 in Delhi. He was a planter, merchant, automobile dealer.

Children: 8, first 7 born in Floyd, La., last born in Delhi, La.:

			Born	*Died*
*	L 21(4)	Charles Wellington	Feb. 17, 1887	
*	L 22(4)	Mary Hampton	June 21, 1888	
	L 23(4)	Eugenia Newman	Dec. 2, 1889	Jan. 6, 1890
*	L 24(4)	Anna Belle	Jan. 17, 1892	Mar. 14, 1912 at Delhi, La.
*	L 25(4)	Miranda Frank	Nov. 30, 1893	
*	L 26(4)	Hiram Marshall	Nov. 22, 1895	
*	L 27(4)	Samuel Dillard	Sept. 28, 1897	Nov. 7, 1951
*	L 28(4)	George Fisher	Apr. 4, 1901	Mar. 18, 1946

L 10(3) MARTHA SPANN HANNA on Jan. 31, 1878 in Floyd, La., was married to Joseph Milton Hamer, who was born in Mississippi in 1858 and died in Texas in 1941. He was the son of a Baptist minister who was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Memphis, Tenn. during the 1860's. The family lived in Floyd La.

and in Lake Charles, La. where he was a merchant, and where she died.

Children: 11, surname HAMER, first 10 born in Floyd, last born in Lake Charles:

			Born	*Died*
*	L 29(4)	Jeptha Spann	Nov. 11, 1878	
	L 30(4)	Alice	Feb. 8, 1881	d.y.
	L 31(4)	Mary Ann	Aug. 16, 1882	Nov. 11, 1892
	L 32(4)	Sarah Ann	Oct. 22, 1884	Feb. 25, 1895
*	L 33(4)	Jesse Minerva	Feb. 8, 1887	
*	L 34(4)	Josephine Miranda	Feb. 17, 1889	
*	L 35(4)	Augustus Milton	Aug. 13, 1891	May 17, 1945
	L 36(4)	Grigsby	Sept. 22, 1893	d.y.
*	L 37(4)	Lucille	Jul. 28, 1896	
*	L 38(4)	Cecil Nannie	Feb. 8, 1898	
	L 39(4)	Edwin Leslie	Feb. 2, 1902	Feb. ? 1952

Ref.: Records in Joseph M. Hamer family Bible.

L 15(4) NELLIE HANNA LOVE on June 15, 1905 was married in Beaumont, Tex. to Olaf Sigward Sydnes, who was born Aug. 13, 1883 in Horton, Norway. They live at High Island, Tex.

Children: 4, surname SYDNES, first 3 born at Sour Lake, Tex., last at Port Arthur, Tex.

			Born	*Died*
*	L 40(5)	Elizabeth Maria	Oct. 27, 1906	
*	L 41(5)	Mary Irene	Jan. 20, 1908	
	L 42(5)	William Olaf	Nov. 11, 1910	Apr. 16, 1911
*	L 43(5)	Nellie Jacqueline	Aug. 28, 1914	Mar. 22, 1949

L 16(4) JOSEPH ANDREW LOVE was born in Lake Providence, La. and died Dec. 17, 1946 in Port Arthur, Tex. On Dec. 26, 1908 he there married Mary Eleanor Boggess. She was born June 23, 1890 in Port Arthur. He was an operator in the Texas oil fields.

Children: 2, born at Sour Lake, Tex.:

			Born
*	L 44(5)	Leah Eleanor	Oct. 10, 1909
*	L 45(5)	Ralph Mentor	Dec. 25, 1914

L 17(4) CORNELIA ELIZABETH LOVE was born at Stoneville, Washington Co., Miss. On May 10, 1905 at Sour Lake, Tex. she was married to William Ludwig Sydnes, who was born Sept. 14, 1881 in Horton, Norway. A machinist by profession, he is retired, and they live in Port Arthur, Tex.

Children: 2, surname SYDNES:

		Born
	Wesley Richard (adopted)	Oct. 6, 1911, in Lake Charles, La.
*	L 46(5) Frances Cecil	Oct. 24, 1917, in Port Arthur, Tex.

WESLEY RICHARD SYDNES in Port Arthur, Tex., Dec. 1934, married Linda Levada Bracken, who was born in Ark. He served in World War II and in the Korean War, in the Chemical Warfare Division. Res., Port Arthur, where he is a stillman with Gulf Refinery Co.

Children: 1, born in San Antonio, Tex.:

Bonnie Lynn — Nov. 11, 1941

L 21(4) CHARLES WELLINGTON HANNA in 1911 in Columbia, Miss., married (1st) Hattie Beasley. They had one child, name unknown; she is now—

L 47(5) Mrs. Clarence Cuevet

He married in 1916 in New Orleans, La. (2nd) Elizabeth Hartz. They had one child, name unknown; she is now—

L 48(5) Mrs. William Scarpero

L 22(4) MARY HAMPTON HANNA was married (1st) on Sept. 11, 1906 at Delhi, La. by Rev. Robert Grace to Louie Liddell Herron, son of John W. and Lou (Summerlin) Herron. He was born in 1885 in Rayville, La. and died July, 1914. They had one child:

* L 49(5) Warren Liddell HERRON, born July 27, 1908, in Delhi, La.

She was married (2nd) in New Orleans, La. Nov. 6, 1916, to Felix Edouard Chapotel, son of Charles Leopold and Eliza Alexandrine (LaLeu) Chapotel. He was born July 17, 1893 in Pass

Christian, Miss., and died Apr. 29, 1950 in New Orleans. He was Chief Auditor for the United Fruit steamship line. They had one child:

* L 50(5) Mary Louise CHAPOTEL, born Nov. 3, 1917, in New Orleans.

L 24(4) ANNA BELLE HANNA in 1912 at Rayville, La., was married to Floyd Dunbar Hicks.

L 25(4) MIRANDA FRANK HANNA in 1920 married Emma Miles, in Delhi, La. She is connected with the District Welfare office at Tallulah, La. He owns a plantation in Madison Parish, near Pinton, La., and his post office address is Transylvania, La.

L 26(4) HIRAM MARSHALL HANNA married (1st) in Gilbert, La., Beulah Dill, who died in 1942. He married (2nd) Helen DeMoss. He is a planter, living at Delhi.

L 27(4) SAMUEL DILLARD HANNA in 1919 married Marguerette Richmond, of Chicago, Ill. In World War I he was a Sergeant Major in the U. S. Army, spending three years in Germany with the occupational forces. He re-enlisted at the outbreak of World War II. He died in Patton, Calif.

L 28(4) GEORGE FISHER HANNA on Oct. 21, 1921 married Erline Paris King, at Rayville, La. She was born Sept. 28, 1905 at Delhi, La. In World War I he enlisted at 16, and was sent back to the U. S. from France before he was 18. He became a certified accountant. Died in New Orleans.

Children: 2, born in Delhi, La.:

	Born
L 51(5) Joan Erline	Feb. 11, 1934
L 52(5) George Fisher, Jr.	Aug. 21, 1938

L 29(4) JEPTHA SPANN HAMER on Nov. 1, 1900 in Lake Charles, La. was married to George Peter Hilding Nelson, who was born Sept. 4, 1875 in Lake Providence, La. He is a retired cotton planter; they live in Lake Providence.

Children: 7, surname NELSON; first born in Lake Charles, La., rest born in Lake Providence, La.:

			Born	*Died*
*	L 53(5)	Merriam Christina	Oct. 22, 1901	
*	L 54(5)	George Alfred	Jul. 15, 1903	
*	L 55(5)	Julius Everett	Jan. 3, 1905	
*	L 56(5)	Claude Augustus	June 13, 1907	
	L 57(5)	Carl Melton	Sept. 29, 1909	Sept. 12, 1910
*	L 58(5)	Martha Cecile	Jan. 11, 1912	
*	L 59(5)	Jeptha Bernard	Oct. 1, 1919	

L 33(4) JESSE MINERVA HAMER on Sept. 10, 1905 was married to George Lewis Pray. They live in Houston, Tex.

Children: 5, surname PRAY:

			Born
*	L 60(5)	Rufus	July 26, 1906
*	L 61(5)	George Clint	June 13, 1908
*	L 62(5)	Olen Hamer	Sept. 14, 1910
*	L 63(5)	Darrell	Sept. 23, 1914
*	L 64(5)	Curtis Greylon	Nov. 28, 1920

L 34(4) JOSEPHINE MIRANDA HAMER on Oct. 13, 1907 in Humble, Tex., was married to William Dexter King, who was born Oct. 15, 1883 in Franklin, Tex. They live in Electra, Tex., where he is a retired oil field operator.

Children: 5, surname KING, first two in Humble, Tex.; next two in Iowa Park, Tex.; last in Electra, Tex.

			Born
*	L 65(5)	Wm. Dexter King, Jr.	Oct. 1, 1908
*	L 66(5)	Orrie Melvina	Oct. 3, 1910
*	L 67(5)	Joe Harris	Apr. 29,1921
*	L 68(5)	Jack Wallin	Feb. 9, 1924
*	L 69(5)	Marcine	Oct. 4, 1929

L 35(4) AUGUSTUS MILTON HAMER on Aug. 29, 1917 married Hazel Agnes Candilier, dau. of Albert Luke and Mary Elizabeth (Picou) Candilier. She was born Nov. 18, 1899. He was

a Superintendent in the oil fields, and inventor of oil field equipment, in Dayton, Tex., where she still resides.

Children: 6, first born in Goose Creek, Tex., next in K.M.A. (or Kamay), Tex., next three in Electra, Tex., last in Dayton, Tex.

			Born
*	L 70(5)	Mildred Hazel	July 14, 1918
*	L 71(5)	Milton Henry	Sept. 24, 1920
*	L 72(5)	Cuba Fay	Oct. 13, 1932
	L 73(5)	Gus Milton	Feb. 17, 1925
*	L 74(5)	Hazel Margaret	May 20, 1929
	L 75(5)	Lola Dell	July 1, 1935

L 37(4) LUCILLE HAMER on April 11, 1914 in Houston, Tex., was married to Charles Alonzo Hall, who was born Sept. 14, 1887 in Philo, Ohio. They live in Roseville, Ohio.

Children: 3, surname HALL; born in Texas:

*	L 76(5)	Chas. Alonzo Hall, Jr.	Oct. 28, 1915, at Humble
*	L 77(5)	Rosa May	Nov. 11, 1917, at Goose Creek
*	L 78(5)	Teddie Richard	Nov. 23, 1921, at Burkburnett

L 38(4) CECIL NANNIE HAMER on Jan. 5, 1914 in Beaumont, Tex., was married to Wesley Stewart Trout, son of Wesley Stewart and Mollie Elizabeth (Collins) Trout. He was born in Quitman, Wood Co., Tex., May 21, 1874 and died Jan. 1, 1942. He was a driller in the Texas oil fields, and was in charge of oil leases. Mrs. Trout lives in Fort Worth, Tex.

Children: 6, surname TROUT; first born in Abingdon, La., rest born in Burkburnett, Tex:

			Born
*	L 79(5)	Elizabeth Cornelia	July 20, 1915
*	L 80(5)	Wesley Stewart, Jr.	Dec. 11, 1917
*	L 81(5)	Jewell	Mar. 29, 1921
*	L 82(5)	Billie Lucille	Oct. 18, 1923
*	L 83(5)	David Hamer	Jan. 27, 1928
*	L 84(5)	Peggy Lou	Feb. 1, 1931

L 40(5) ELIZABETH MARIA SYDNES on May 21, 1923 in Orange, Tex., was married (1st) to Frederick A. Geary, son of Arthur and Cassie Ann (Pullin) Gary. (Name changed from Gary to Geary). He was born Jan. 4, 1895 in Karnes Co., Tex. She was married (2nd) on May 25, 1947 to Max W. Troegel, who was born July 6, 1899 in Germany. They live in Premont, Tex., where she is the City Clerk.

Children: 3, surname GEARY, born in Stairtown, Tex.:

		Born
*	L 85(6) Thomas Ray	Feb. 27, 1926
*	L 86(6) Dorothy Nell	Feb. 2, 1928
*	L 87(6) Freda Beth	May 4, 1932

L 41(5) MARY IRENE SYDNES on Aug. 14, 1925 in Orange, Tex., was married to Leroy J. Johnston, who was born in Steppville, Ala., Feb. 13, 1903. They live in Corpus Christi, Tex.

Children: 4, surname JOHNSTON, born in Port Arthur, Tex.:

		Born
*	L 88(6) Billie Pauline	Aug. 18, 1926
*	L 89(6) Bettie Gail	Mar. 29, 1928
*	L 90(6) James Olaf	Nov. 2, 1930
*	L 91(6) Thomas Warren	Mar. 16, 1934

L 43(5) NELLIE JACQUELINE SYDNES was married (1st) in Lake Charles, La. to Cyril J. Thorne, born in Gonzales, Tex., June 25, 1903. A merchant seaman, during the World War, he acted in convoy duty, became a Chief Engineer.

Children: 1, surname THORNE, born in Port Arthur, Tex.:

		Born
*	L 92(6) Virginia Lee	Oct. 19, 1934

She was married (2nd) on Mar. 14, 1936 at Anahuac, Tex., to Douglas Barrow, who was born in Caplin, Tex.

Children: 1, surname BARROW, born in Port Arthur, Tex.:

		Born
*	L 93(6) Harold Gene	March 20, 1939

L 44(5) LEAH ELEANOR LOVE in July, 1943 was married to M. McKinnon, who was born Sept. 14, 1895 in Mexia, Tex. ~~She lives in Shreveport, La.~~ Res., Wichita Falls, Tex.

Children: 1, surname MCKINNON:

L 94(6) James Holt

L 45(5) RALPH MENTOR LOVE on Oct. 26, 1948 in Port Arthur, Tex., married Dorothy Nell Kirkmyer, who was born there July 14, 1924. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy, as Boatswain's Mate, in the Southwest Pacific area, and in the Philippines campaign. They lived in Port Arthur, Tex.; he is employed as pumper by the Texas Oil Co.

Children: 2, born in Port Arthur, Tex.

	Born
L 95(6) Jane Ellen	Sept. 30, 1949
L 96(6) Joseph Ralph	Mar. 3, 1952

L 46(5) FRANCES CECIL SYDNES on Dec. 25, 1937 was married in Port Arthur, Tex., to Blackwell Sands Arendale, Jr., who was born Mar. 16, 1910 in Silsbee, Tex. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, being in Puerto Rico and Okinawa. ~~She is manager of the J. C. Penney store in Wichita Falls, Tex.~~ He is city manager of the Beaumont Enterprise. Res., Beaumont, Tex.

Children: 2, surname ARENDALE, first born in Nacogdoches, Tex., second in Port Arthur, Tex.

	Born
L 97(6) Blackwell S. Arendale, III	Mar. 14, 1939
L 98(6) Stephen Sydnes	Jul. 16, 1941

L 49(5) WARREN LIDDELL HERRON on July 2, 1926 at Gulfport, Miss., married Esther Cuevas, dau. of William Avenal and Lena (Morris) Cuevas. She was born June 20, 1908 in Biloxi, Miss. Res., at Gulfport, Miss.

Children: 3, first born in Vicksburg, Miss., second in New Orleans, third in Gulfport, Miss.

	Born
L 99(6) Warren L. Herron, Jr.	Feb. 12, 1938
L 100(6) William Edouard	Jun. 21, 1946
L 101(6) Katherine Ann	Feb. 19, 1951

L 50(5) MARY LOUISE CHAPOTEL on Feb. 16, 1946 was married in New Orleans, La., to John Walter Cox, son of David Johnson and Ella May (Taylor) Cox. He was born July 5, 1924 in Mangum, Okla. During World War II he served as an Ensign in the U. S. Navy. He is now an attorney-at-law in New Orleans. She graduated from Newcomb College in 1939, took an M.A. in Mathematics at Tulane Univ. in 1941, and worked in the Navy Dept. in New Orleans until her marriage.

Children: 1, surname COX, born in New Orleans:

L 102(6) Dudley John Born Aug. 23, 1952

L 53(5) MERRIAM CHRISTINA NELSON on Nov. 6, 1922 was married at Lake Providence, La., to James Christopher Lee, son of Albert Andrew and Myra Elizabeth (Gregory) Lee. He was born May 14, 1898 at Puckett, Miss. Res., Shreveport, La.

Children: 4, surname LEE, born in Lake Providence, La.:

		Born
*	L 103(6) James Nelson	Oct. 9, 1923
*	L 104(6) George Jeptha	Nov. 26, 1925
*	L 105(6) Merriam Albert	Jan. 15, 1929
*	L 106(6) Joy Christina	Jul. 31, 1932

L 54(5) GEORGE ALFRED NELSON on Sept. 4, 1929 married Irma Johnson at Coushatta, La. He is Chaplain at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Dallas, Tex., and his son has prepared for the Baptist ministry at Baylor College, Waco, Tex.

Children: 2:

	Born	*Died*
L 107(6) George Alfred, Jr.	Mar. 8, 1933	
L 108(6) Dorothy Jane	Sept. 21, 1940	Sept. 3, 1954

L 55(5) JULIUS EVERETT NELSON married in Lake Providence, La., on Oct. 7, 1928, Dora R. Roberts, dau. of Willie James and Rosa (Bryant) Roberts. She was born Nov. 10, 1908 in Pioneer, La. He is General Agent for Pan-American Life Ins. Co., in Monroe, La.

Children: 2:

		Born
L 109(6)	Robert Everett	June 26, 1930
L 110(6)	Raymond Julius	March 15, 1939

L 56(5) CLAUDE AUGUSTUS NELSON on May 29, 1927 at Lake Providence, La., married Hazel Myrtice Cawthon, dau. of James Asberry and Ollie (Mosely) Cawthon. She was born Oct. 21, 1910 in Pioneer, La. Res., Ferriday, La.

Children: 2, first born at Lake Providence, La., second at Shreveport, La.

			Born
*	L 111(6)	Myrtice Claudyne	Apr. 12, 1928
		William Ray (adopted)	June 2, 1945

L 57(5) MARTHA CECILE NELSON on Oct. 18, 1931 at Lake Providence, La., was married to Henry Landis Campbell, son of James Henry and Debbie (McCaskill) Campbell. He was born July 10, 1903, in Winfield, La. Res., Shreveport, La.

Children: 1, surname CAMPBELL, born at Lake Providence.

		Born
L 112(6)	Martha Henriette	Nov. 3, 1935

L 58(5) JEPTHA BERNARD NELSON on Nov. 5, 1939 at Lake Providence, La., married Myra Lee Lishman, dau. of Neal and Ovelia Odell (Lee) Lishman. She was born Sept. 13, 1921 in Eudora, Ark. He is an accountant, living in Ferriday, La.

Children: 3, first born at Lake Providence, La., other two at Ferriday, La.

		Born
L 113(6)	Jephtha Bernard, Jr.	Sept. 9, 1941
L 114(6)	Jonathan	Dec. 17, 1952
L 115(6)	Janet	Dec. 19, 1953

L 60(5) RUFUS PRAY in 1934 married Loretha Sparks.

Children: 3, first two born in Freer, Tex., third in Houston, Tex.

		Born
L 116(6)	Lewis Melton	Sept. 3, 1937
L 117(6)	Gary Lee	Nov. 1, 1940
L 118(6)	Mark Alan	Jan. 24, 1949

L 61(5) GEORGE CLINT PRAY married Vera Mae Summers.

Children: 3, first born in Wichita Falls, Tex., second in Galveston, Tex., third in Crowley, La.

		Born
L 119(6)	James Dwain	Sept. 20, 1934
L 120(6)	Horace	Aug. 31, 1938
L 121(6)	Ray	Jan. 26, 1946

L 62(5) OLEN HAMER PRAY in 1933 married Maggie Shockley, in Walters, Okla.

Children: 2, first born in Holiday, Tex., second in Bellville, Tex.

		Born
L 122(6)	Juanita	Nov. 2, 1934
L 123(6)	Harold Lynn	Sept. 12, 1938

L 63(5) DARRELL PRAY in 1944 married Nelda Fisher.

Children: 1,

L 124(6)	Darrell Lynn	Born July 19, 1949

L 64(5) CURTIS GREYLON PRAY on Dec. 31, 1939 married Dorothy Webb.

Children: 2, first born in Wichita Falls, Tex., second in Houston, Tex.

		Born
L 125(6)	Curtis Greylon, Jr.	Mar. 20, 1941
L 126(6)	Stephen Reese	Jan. 15, 1947

L 65(5) WILLIAM DEXTER KING, Jr. on Dec. 21, 1934 in Wichita Falls, Tex. married Helen Louise Randolph, dau. of Arthur and Frances (Howard) Randolph. She was born Oct. 6, 1914 in Ardmore, Okla. He attended John Tarleton Agricultural College at Stephenstown, Tex., and is a supervisor at Southland Oil refinery, Yazoo City, Miss.

Children: 2, first born in Iowa Park, Tex., second in Talco, Tex.

		Born
L 127(6)	Frances Jo	Feb. 9, 1936
L 128(6)	Sylvia Ann	July 18, 1938

L 66(5) ORRIE MELVINA KING on March 21, 1936 in Electra, Tex., was married to Haskell Burton, son of Albert and Nora (Church) Burton. He was born Nov. 12, 1909 in Paul's Valley, Okla. They live in Electra, Tex., where he owns the Well Service, dealing in sand pumping etc., in the oil fields.

Children: 1, surname BURTON, born in Wichita Falls, Tex.

L 129(6)	Julie Mae	June 14, 1947

L 67(5) JOE HARRIS KING on Jan. 26, 1942 in Mt. Pleasant, Tex., married Flora Lee Emmons, dau. of Orphus Anthony and Artie Eleanor (Walker) Emmons. She was born Jan. 14, 1925 at Verona, Tex. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Air Corps. They live in Electra, Tex., where he is a printer.

Children: 3, first born in Houston, Tex., second in Texarkana, Tex., third in Electra, Tex.

		Born
L 130(6)	Flora Lorenne	Feb. 15, 1944
L 131(6)	William Dexter	June 15, 1946
L 132(6)	Stanley Travis	June 6, 1949

L 68(5) JACK WALLIN KING on Apr. 11, 1943 in Frederick, Okla., married Wanda Nell Parsons, who was born Mar. 5, 1925 in Matador, Tex. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy. Res., Kansas City, Mo.

Children: 2, first born in Wichita Falls, Tex., second in Yazoo City, Miss.

		Born
L 133(6)	Jack Wallin, Jr.	Mar. 3, 1944
L 134(6)	Judia Jo	Nov. 24, 1946

L 69(5) MARCINE KING on Feb. 14, 1957 was married to John Luther Wagner.

L 70(5) MILDRED HAZEL HAMER on Dec. 6, 1937 was married to Ruby C. Andrus, who was born Feb. 14, 1917 in Humble, Tex.

Children: 2, surname ANDRUS, born at Baytown, Tex.

		Born
L 135(6)	Ronald Gilbert	Oct. 6, 1938
L 136(6)	Lonnie Ray	Oct. 28, 1940

L 71(5) MILTON HENRY HAMER on Aug. 8, 1945 in Mexico City, Mexico, married Beverly Williams, who was born Sept. 1, 1928 in Morgan City, La.

Children: 3, first in Memphis, Tenn., second in Port Neches, Tex., third in Dayton, Tex.

		Born
L 137(6)	Gregory James	July 4, 1946
L 138(6)	Milton Henry, Jr.	Dec. 4, 1947
L 139(6)	Connie Elizabeth	June 23, 1949

L 72(5) CUBA FAY HAMER on March 2, 1947 in Dayton, Tex., was married to Thomas Mack Horne, who was born Aug. 20, 1919 in Waco, Tex.

Children: 3, first two in Houston, Tex., third in Washington, D. C.

		Born
L 140(6)	Thomas Mack, Jr.	Feb. 14, 1949
L 141(6)	Kathleen	Jan. 4, 1951
L 142(6)	Rock E.	July 29, 1958

L 73(5) GUS MILTON HAMER on Oct. 22, 1955 at Baytown, Tex., married Marie Carter Boren.

L 74(5) HAZEL MARGARET HAMER on Aug. 17, 1946 in Dayton, Tex., was married to Jesse Eric Neuman, who was born Aug. 20, 1919 in Romayor, Tex.

Children: 4, surname NEUMAN, first born in Liberty, Tex., other three in Dayton, Tex.

		Born
L 143(6)	Jesse Eric, Jr.	June 30, 1947
L 144(6)	Raymond Aubrey	Oct. 22, 1949
L 145(6)	Sharon Dell	Oct. 1, 1951
L 146(6)	Sheila Kay	July 27, 1954

L 75(5) LOLA DELL HAMER on Oct. 22, 1954 was married to James Edward Damek, who was born Aug. 7, 1927 in Dayton, Tex.

Children: 2, surname DAMEK, born at Dayton.

L 147(6)	Dennis James	Dec. 13, 1955
L 148(6)		

L 76(6) CHARLES ALONZO HALL, JR., on March 9, 1935 in Vienna, W. Va., married Marjorie Lorraine Merritt, dau. of Alva and Bertha Susan (Farson) Merritt of Caldwell, Ohio. They live in Canton, Ohio, where he works for a motor express company.

Children: 3, first two in Keethtown, Ohio, third in Canton, Ohio.

		Born
L 149(6)	Charles Alva	Oct. 3, 1937
L 150(6)	Juanita Lorene	July 15, 1939
L 151(6)	Jerry Dean	Mar. 3, 1946

L 77(5) ROSA MAY HALL on Nov. 27, 1937 in Beverly, Ohio, was married (1st) to Clyde Nelson, son of Pomeroy and Adelia (Bruce) Nelson. He was born Dec. 1, 1912 in Powhatan Point, Ohio, and died in a mining accident there, Dec. 28, 1944.

Children: 1, surname NELSON, born at Powhatan Point, Ohio.

L 152(6)	Terry Richard	Sept. 19, 1942

She was married (2nd) June 7, 1952 at St. Marys, W. Va., to Clayton Ray, Jr., son of Homer Clayton and Lillian M. (Nessline) Ray. He was born Dec. 26, 1922 at Zanesville, Ohio. They live in Columbus, Ohio.

L 78(5) TEDDIE RICHARD HALL on Aug. 3, 1941 in Beverly, Ohio married Bertha Ann Erb, dau. of Henry and Isabelle (Hill) Erb. She was born Oct. 6, 1918 in Marietta, Ohio. Res., Marietta.

Children: 2, first born in Canton, Ohio, second in Marietta, Ohio.

		Born
L 153(6)	Sandra Sue	Aug. 11, 1942
L 154(6)	Teddie Eugene	Jul. 20, 1945

L 79(5) ELIZABETH CORNELIA TROUT on Oct. 15, 1933 in Greenfield, Okla., was married to Charles Woodie Meador, son of Oren Robert and Almena (Jones) Meador. He was born July 14, 1911 in Olen, Tex. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Air Force. Res., Fort Worth, Tex.

Children: 1, surname MEADOR, born in Wichita Falls, Tex.:

L 155(6)	Betty Sue	Feb. 24, 1936

L 80(5) WESLEY STEWART TROUT, JR., on Oct. 10, 1939 in Ardmore, Okla., married (1st) Billie Marie Wicker.

Children: 1, born in Iowa Park, Tex.:

L 156(6)	Wesley Stewart, III	July 19, 1940

He married (2nd) Apr., 22, 1946 in Fort Worth, Tex., Mildred Estelle Farmer, dau. of Alvin and Sally (Hughes) Farmer. She was born Aug. 18, 1917. He is superintendent of an oil field at Bellevue, Tex.

Children: 2, born in Bowie, Tex.:

L 157(6)	Rita Kay	Dec. 29, 1949
L 158(6)	Nita Gay (twin)	Dec. 29, 1949

L 81(5) JEWELL TROUT on Nov. 23, 1942 in Decatur, Tex., was married to Arthur Paul Mason, son of Marcellus Wilburn and Minnie Lee (Narramore) Mason. During World War II he served in the U. S. Coast Guard. He is employed by Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp., at Fort Worth, Tex.

Children: 2, surname MASON, born in Fort Worth:

L 159(6)	Patricia Ann	Dec. 6, 1946
L 160(6)	Judy Marcell	Dec. 11, 1952

L 82(5) BILLIE LUCILLE TROUT on Nov. 23, 1942 in Decatur, Tex., was married to Joseph Melvin Simpson, son of Thomas Marion and Ella (Dunn) Simpson. He was born May 13, 1921 in

Anson, Tex. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, in the 84th Division. He saw combat duty in Ardennes, the Rhineland, and Central Europe and was awarded the Bronze Star. He is employed by Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp., at Fort Worth, Tex.

Children: 3, surname SIMPSON:

		Born
L 161(6)	Joseph Melvin, Jr.	May 8, 1944
L 162(6)	Barbara Jean	Nov. 18, 1947
L 163(6)	Richard Wayne	Nov. 13, 1949

L 83(5) DAVID HAMER TROUT on Sept. 19, 1948 in Sacramento, Calif., married Lawanna Upton, dau. of Joseph and Rosa Lee (Parton) Upton. She was born Nov. 21, 1928 in Wanette, Okla. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army as Tech Sergeant. Receiving radio and radar training at Ft. Monmouth, he later studied at the Radio and Television National Institute. He is an electronic technician, living in Fort Worth, Tex.

Children: 3, born in Fort Worth:

L 164(6)	David Hamer, Jr.	Oct. 25, 1949
L 165(6)	Larry Upton	Apr. 29, 1951
L 166(6)	Phillip Lee	May , 1955

L 84(5) PEGGY LOU TROUT on May 30, 1948 in Fort Worth, Tex., was married to Claude Henry Harmon, Jr., son of Claude Henry and Azille (Keeton) Harmon. He was born Jan. 1, 1928 in Hamlin, Tex., and died Oct. 6, 1957 in Fort Worth. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, seeing service in Japan. Res., Fort Worth.

Children: 3, surname HARMON, first born in Abilene, Tex., other two in Ft. Worth, Tex.

		Born
L 167(6)	Nancy Darlene	Oct. 31, 1949
L 168(6)	Debra Lynn	Jan. 8, 1955
L 169(6)	Claudette	Nov. 22, 1957

L 85(6) THOMAS RAY GEARY on Oct. 23, 1947 in Luling, Tex., married Marjorie Weeks, who was born July 29, 1927. Res., at Pasadena, Tex.

Children: 1, born in Luling, Tex.:

L 170(7)	Robert Daniel	Nov. 18, 1950

L 86(6) DOROTHY NELL GEARY on July 21, 1947 in Luling, Tex., was married to Walton Wade Keeton, born June 7, 1919. He served in the Army Air Force for nine years, 1940-1949, seeing service in the E.T.O. and later in Alaska. They live near Luling, Tex.

Children: 2, surname KEETON, born in Luling:

L 171(7)	Cassie Ann	Jan. 20, 1949
L 172(7)	Geary Lee	Mar. 1, 1952

L 87(6) FREDA BETH GEARY on July 20, 1951 was married to Joe Shannon Ragsdale, who was born Jan. 8, 1922. During World War II, he served in the U. S. Air Force, in India, and in Tinian, Mariana Islands. The 468th Bomber Group, to which he was attached, received the Presidential Citation, 9 Battle Stars, and the Silver Star, for Air Combat over Sumatra. They live in Corpus Christi, Tex.

Children: 2, surname RAGSDALE, first born at Midland, Tex., second at Corpus Christi, Tex.

		Born
L 173(7)	Shannon Kay	May 28, 1953
L 174(7)	Patrick Kevin	Mar. 15, 1955

L 88(6) BILLIE PAULINE JOHNSTON on Jan. 6, 1944 in Kuntz, Tex., was married to Huron Joseph LaBorde, who was born in Hessmer, La., Nov. 1, 1925. During World War II he served in the U. S. Air Force. He received a B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering at Lamar State College of Technology at Beaumont, Tex., in 1953. He was awarded the American Chemical Society scholarship award for 1953, for the Texas-Gulf section.

Children: 3, surname LA BORDE, first born in Port Arthur, Tex., other two in Galveston, Tex.

		Born
L 175(7)	Roger Warren	Oct. 7, 1945
L 176(7)	Debra Kay	Sept. 18, 1954
L 177(7)	Donna Marie (twin)	Sept. 18, 1954

L 89(6) BETTIE GAIL JOHNSTON on Nov. 15, 1949 was married in Gulfport, Miss., to Cecil Wilkinson who was born July 27, 1929 in Waynesboro, Miss. He saw service in the U. S. Army in Korea. Res., Mineral Wells, Tex.

Children: 2, surname WILKINSON, born in Mineral Wells, Tex.:

L 178(7)	Lamar Sigurd	Sept. 14, 1953
L 179(7)	James David	Aug. 1, 1955

L 90(6) JAMES OLAF JOHNSTON on Dec. 27, 1957 at Port Arthur, Tex., married Lois Georgine Statation, who was born May 5, 1939 at Roads Fork, Ky. On Apr. 4, 1948 he enlisted in the U. S. Marine Corps. He saw action in Korea and in Nov., 1950 was wounded. Wound sustained in the trap at Chosen Reservoir. Evacuated, he walked for 17 miles with a back injury and frozen feet, holding on to a slowly moving truck. Sent to hospital in Japan, then to Corpus Christi, he underwent several operations; medical discharge, Nov. 15, 1951. He received the Purple Heart and a Presidential Unit Citation.

L 91(6) THOMAS WARREN JOHNSTON on Oct. 8, 1955 at Port Arthur, Tex., married Patricia Ann Thurber, who was born in Iowa. Res., Long Beach, Calif.

Children: 1, born at Bellflower, Calif.:

L 180(7)	Karen Denice	July 15, 1956

L 92(6) VIRGINIA LEE THORNE was married in Woodville, Tex., to Thomas Franklin Sullivan, who was born in Sabine Pass., Tex., June 9, 1924. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, seeing active service overseas; received unit citation with two clusters. Res., Baytown, Tex.

Children: 2, surname SULLIVAN, first born at Anahuae, Tex., second at Victoria, Tex.

		Born
L 181(7)	Franklin Eugene	Aug. 3, 1952
L 182(7)	Jacqueline Ann	Feb. 10, 1954

L 93(6) HAROLD GENE BARROW married Shelby Jean Norris, dau. of William J. Norris. She was born March 3, 1938 in Galveston, Tex. Res., High Island, Tex.

L 103(6) JAMES NELSON LEE on June 14, 1949, in the Trinity Baptist church in Lake Charles, La., married Martha Managan, dau. of William Henry, Jr., and Frances (Williams) Managan. She was born Oct. 21, 1927, in Lake Charles. He received a B.A. degree from Louisiana College, Pineville, La., in 1943, and an LL.B. degree from Louisiana State Univ. in 1948. In World War II he served in the U. S. Army, in England, France, and Germany. He is an attorney-at-law in Bunkie, La.

Children: 3, born in Bunkie, La.:

L 183(7)	Nelson Managan	May 8, 1951
L 184(7)	Stuart Rogers	Dec. 14, 1953
L 185(7)	Adrienne	Apr. 17, 1954

L 104(6) GEORGE JEPTHA LEE on April 29, 1945 in Shreveport, La., married Marjorie LeBlanc, dau. of Clarence J. and Willie Mae (Herrin) LeBlanc of Broussard, La. She was born in Shreveport, Jan. 11, 1925. In World War II he served with the U. S. Navy, in the Pacific. He took a B.S. degree at L.S.I. at Lafayette, La., in 1947, majoring in Accounting. He is Office Manager and Treasurer of General Oil Field Contracting, Inc., in Lafayette, La.

Children: 2, born in Lafayette, La.:

L 186(7)	Beverly Elaine	Nov. 17, 1946
L 187(7)	Charlotte Elizabeth	Mar. 14, 1953

L 105(6) MERRIAM ALBERT LEE married Dorothy Ann Luttrel at Glenmara, La., Dec. 18, 1954. He attended Louisiana State Univ. at Baton Rouge, 1949-51. In World War II he served in the U. S. Air Force, re-enlisting in 1952.

L 106(6) JOY CHRISTINA LEE on Dec. 20, 1952, at the Baptist Chapel on the campus of Louisiana State Univ. in Baton Rouge, was married to William Truitt Black, Jr. They were both music students in their Junior year. He enlisted in the Air Corps, and trained at Lowry Base Air Field, Denver, Colo.

Children: 1, surname LEE:

L 188(7) Evalyn Cecile Born Apr. 17, 1954

L 111(6) MYRTICE CLAUDYNE NELSON on Mar. 26, 1946 at Sicily Island, La., was married to Charles Baxter Thompson, Jr., son of Charles Baxter and Lou Ethel (Murray) Thompson. He was born Mar. 8, 1924 at Pioneer, La., and is a farmer, living near Lake Providence, La.

Children: 4, surname THOMPSON, first two born in Ferriday, La., other two in Delhi, La.

		Born
L 189(7)	Claudia Jane	Jan. 13, 1948
L 190(7)	Hazel Kathryn	Jan. 20, 1949
L 191(7)	Charlene	Aug. 7, 1951
L 192(7)	Cynthia Lou	Mar. 13, 1958

L 151(6) BETTY SUE MEADOR on Mar. 14, 1953 in Fort Worth, Tex., was married to Frederick Erwin Kunkel, who was born Sept. 23, 1931 in Fort Worth, Tex.

Children 1, surname KUNKEL, born in Fort Worth

L 193(7) Terry Keith 1957

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The Reuben Davis who was prominent in Mississippi as an officer in the Confederate Army, and who wrote *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1891) was no connection.

2. Randle Bond Truett, *Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians Before 1830* (University of N. C. Press. 1935), and Val Hart, *The Story of American Roads* (New York: William Sloan, 1950), and other studies, discuss the development of roads in this period.

The Natchez Trace began as the "return path" of the boatmen or traders who floated down the Ohio and the Mississippi and then had to walk back. It was a trace, a path, a horse track—never really a wagon road. After the steamboats became bigger and better, and the Natchez Trace was less used, sections of it grew up again into woods. Yet in the early years, many hundreds of settlers did use it.

After 1817, the "Pike," or Cumberland Road, or National Road, was "improved" for the use of vehicles. It led from Potomac to Wheeling, on the Ohio River, and then on through Ohio and Ind. Probably George Fisher followed it to Cincinnati in 1817.

But in 1811 it was difficult to get wagons across the wide river systems of the lower South, as there were few ferries or bridges. Farther north there were the mountains.

3. Claiborne Co. Land Registrations.

4. The steamboats of 1811 were small ones, fitted with engines made in Pittsburgh. The era of the "great" steamboats was not until the 1840's or 1850's. But by 1835, the "quick" way from Texas to "the East" was to go upriver from New Orleans to Cincinnati.

Steamboats were not used on the Big Black until 1822. Flatboats were loaded and drifted downstream to Natchez and New Orleans. Getting goods and supplies back up the river was the problem.

5. Charles S. Sydnor's *Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Duke University, 1938) depicts the region in the earlier period. Wailes, like many other conservative pioneer plantation owners was opposed to Secession as a remedy for the ills of the South, many of them forced upon her by the injustice of the North. Wailes died during the Civil War, seeing no way out of the dilemma.

6. Claiborne Co. court records. William Davis' survey of Grand Gulf was occasioned by the change in the river channel. The plat of his survey is in Land Registrations.

7. Compare Chapter I, Note 97.

8. Capt. Regan's announcement, quoted from his catalogue, was carried in all July, 1854 issues by the newspapers of Port Gibson, Vicksburg, and Natchez. Filed in the State Archives.

9. In early days, John Baines owned a warehouse and store on the Big Black, near Reuben Davis' place. Though George Henderson later became the owner, this point on the river remained "Baines' Landing." Hall ran the ferry nearby.

10. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi* (cited in Chapter I, Note 159) gives a detailed account. Gov. Pettus, who had been a "fire eater," and yet had believed there would "be no war," sent one battery of state militia to Vicksburg to "command the river." The Convention authorized him to borrow one thousand dollars for the supply of "forces in the field," and to raise one division of volunteer infantry. Many volunteered immediately. But Mississippi resented, as an invasion of state rights, having her state troops and volunteers "taken" by the Army of the Confederacy. Or so it was at first.

Dwight Lowell Dumond, *The Secession Movement, 1860-1861* (New York: Macmillan, 1931) shows that many who did not favor secession agreed on the need for Southerners to stand together; but throughout the war there were bitter differences within the states.

11. Upon publication of the present book, Lawrence E. Mallette will place the will of Reuben Davis and all other original family papers in his possession in the Mississippi Archives of History, in Jackson, for the benefit of all Davis and Fisher descendants.

CHAPTER III

THE SONS OF GEORGE FISHER AND OF ELIZABETH (DAVIS) FISHER

I. War and Peace in Mississippi

In addition to what has already been told of the household at "Twin Halls," and to introduce the data in the sections to follow, something may here be said on the lives of Hiram, George W., and John as the years went on.

Although all three, especially the two older brothers, were well known in their own time and place, their generation is now long gone, those who knew them are themselves old or have forgotten much. For the rest of us, hearsay often becomes confused. In comparison with their father's life, the sons' lack documentation. Besides, the period of their maturity was darkened by the Civil War and Reconstruction, and some people whose homes lay during those bitter years in the region between Jackson and Vicksburg refused to talk much about those times to the next generations.

The Fishers were, on the whole, Whigs—or had been; and by principle they were Unionists. There were surprisingly many such men among the responsible and conservative landowners of Mississippi, and it was a complex and a difficult role they had to play. If it seems painful to any of us, a century later, to think that our immediate forebears were "not loyal Southerners," let us realize, first, that the whole situation was full of pain for them, too. It is not up to us to criticize our elders and betters so much as to determine the truth and to understand it. We all know that these men were intelligent, stubborn, and honorable, and that they did what they thought right in the bad times they lived in and through. In 1861, John Fisher was 36, George was 38, Hiram was 40.

To speak first of John—though the youngest, the fact that he died in 1877 makes his life belong to the farther past. As we have already said, in the previous chapter, John Fisher went in 1846, at the age of 21, to Carroll Parish, Louisiana to manage the

estate left by Alexander G. Trimble, the first husband of his Aunt Louisa Ann. When the aunt, who had remarried, died in 1854 in the cholera epidemic, John Fisher was made administrator of the estate. Probate court records show him in Carroll Parish in 1856 when the estate was closed.

John then returned to "Twin Halls," where (with the two elder brothers married and settled in homes of their own) the mother was more or less alone. Though John had sold his own interest in the property to his brother Hiram in 1854, the census of 1860 shows him as "head of the house." But in the next year, that of Secession, at the age of 36, John took a young girl as wife and built a house for her near "Twin Halls." Somewhat reluctantly, he served for a time in a Confederate cavalry unit, and was taken prisoner. After the war he had a wheelwright's shop and a farm near Utica, where his widow and his two younger children lived on until 1890. Of the sons of the old "Yorkino," John was the only one to be active in local Masonic circles. His death was due to a heart attack brought on by the excitement incident to a fire on a neighbor's place. A photograph of him shows an intent and serious face above his square beard. Of all the family, we seem to know John Fisher least.

Hiram Fisher was the only son who was at all close to his father. He admired his father's abilities, and understood the loneliness that underlay his activities. After he returned from California and Panama in 1850, Hiram was for a time at "Twin Halls." After his father came home in 1854 and by quit claim deed made over his interest in the property to his three sons, Hiram bought out both George W. and John for $7000 each, and became (with his mother) owner of the Claiborne County lands and property. Immediately, both George W. and Hiram were married, George W. for the second time.

On July 14, 1854 Hiram Fisher married Elizabeth Anderson. They lived at "Twin Halls" until 1859 when he bought the "Hall's Ferry" plantation from George Henderson and they went to this new home. It was Hiram who in 1859 moved the ferry landing on the Big Black from Baines' Landing a quarter of a mile north to "Fisher's Ferry," the present location of the bridge on the

Vicksburg-Utica highway. Before he could do much with his new place, events had moved fast and war was a reality.

Though the old Whig party, as such, had lost its political entity before 1860, many of its former adherents being now Democrats, their type of conservative citizens, the Fishers included, thought it folly for the Southern states to try to leave the Union. The Union was theirs as much as it was "North's." A number of the delegates to the Convention in Jackson in January, 1861 had not themselves desired Secession. But the Ordinance was carried unanimously. Later there were complications and contradictions, several conscription acts, many evasions, much bitterness. We might read William F. Foote's *History of Claiborne County: Soldiers of the Confederate Army, 1861-1865, or Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* by Albert Burton Moore, late professor of history at the University of Alabama.

About all we know of the facts within the Fisher family has come from "what Lou Fisher said." A Captain McLean, seeking to organize a company of cavalry at Rocky Springs, ordered Hiram and John Fisher to report; they declined. Instead, they took the Oath of Allegiance; and Hiram moved his wife and two small children to his Uncle Joseph Davis' home in Indiana. There they stayed until the fall of Vicksburg. On their return trip, little Walter Scott Fisher, aged two, died on board the steamboat. John Fisher afterward did join a cavalry company; many of the citizens resented these cavalry units almost as much as they did enemy ones. It was in 1862, about when Hiram went away, that Lou Fisher and his brother left their grandmother's and went to Cayuga to live with their father, or with their stepmother, Jeannie.

In the period after Reconstruction, both Hiram Fisher and his brother George W. Fisher held places of importance in the social and economic life of the two counties. Their fairly large families grew up in their well established homes, taking part in the life of the countryside. Usually they went to the Methodist church, either the old one at Rocky Springs, or the one in Cayuga. There were schools of a sort, but apparently teachers were hard to get. (The profession of schoolmaster had become a bad joke during the war, when a man could claim exemption from military service by being a "teacher of twenty pupils or more," and there

were sometimes as many such "teachers" as possible pupils—or so the joke went). Young ladies did now teach school, or would live in someone's home and have a sort of private school for the neighborhood. When old enough, boys and girls might be sent to a boarding school, perhaps in Vicksburg. Young people went hunting and fishing, and there were gay supper parties and dances.

On January 1, 1883, young Helen Elizabeth Foote of Cayuga wrote in her diary:

> . . . Charlie Brown came up for me in the buggy . . . That evening we went to a party at Mr. Hiram Fisher's and had a splendid time. Never did things look more lovely than they did that night. We danced about four sets and then Mr. Fisher announced supper. . . . When we had finished, we were escorted back to the parlor . . . or we promenaded. Cigars were then handed around, after which we continued dancing until almost daylight. Our horses had broken loose so we could not go home. So we contented ourselves with sitting around the fire talking. All had departed except Charlie, Sarrett, Lilly Fisher, Annie Brown and myself. We remained to breakfast, which was almost as good as the supper of the night before. There were a great many people there.

This diary, now in the State Archives Library in Jackson, gives many names, and records many events of the 1880's not now to be recovered from any other source. Helen Foote speaks often of the daughters of George W. Fisher, her "best friends." There were Pearl, her contemporary; the slightly older girls just graduated from Nazareth Academy at Bardstown, Kentucky—sweet Madeleine who would become a Sister of Mercy, and lovely Genevieve who would displease her father when she "eloped with Mr. C. Mallette." Helen Foote, educated at the female academy in Vicksburg, later taught a neighborhood school at "Buzzards' Roost" on Mr. Lou Fisher's place.

But all that came much later. During the terrible decade of misrule by local county officials who were mainly newcomers, carpetbaggers, or scalawags, or emancipated "freedmen of color," when taxes were put up so high that ruined owners lost their lands in forced sales, Hiram Fisher in Claiborne, and George

in Hinds, silently and somewhat grimly bought in a good many pieces of land which would otherwise have been lost—that is, they sometimes sold them back for little or nothing to their rightful owners. They held on to their own, or increased their holdings; they also, for their neighbors, lifted mortgages, lent or bought equipment, found "free" labor, and got things running again—or helped to do so. That is why the Fishers, though they had been "in with the Federal government," were respected and depended upon by their friends.

A typical tale, told by a son of Captain Regan:

> One day Mr. Hiram Fisher was riding across Regan's Island and he saw Tobe plowing with an ox. "Can you make a crop that way?" "No, but I've got no mule." "Come on then to Vicksburg and *get* a mule." So they went and got one, and the man made seven or eight bales of cotton, at maybe a dollar-fifty a pound then. Mr. Fisher snorted at the idea of repayment for the mule. It was a lot better than an ox, though.

An old Negro named Green said, "Mr. Hiram had a way he talked deep down in his belly. It scared the niggers to death, and most the white folks too." As planter, merchant, and county politician Hiram Fisher lived out his life at "The Ferry," dying there in 1884, aged 63, from pneumonia following injuries sustained when he was thrown from a horse.

George W. Fisher was 24 years old when he married his first wife, Louisa Deliah Clarke, daughter of William Clarke, and granddaughter of Gibson Clarke. This Gibson Clarke, born in 1760, served in the American Revolution, helping to expel the British from Georgia; after the Revolution he moved to the Natchez region. In 1817 in Claiborne County his son William married (2nd) Thena Ann Phillips of Jefferson County. "Mt. Serrat," the large house which he built on his plantation a few miles northwest of the present town of Carlisle, stood for more than a hundred years, burning down in 1946. It must have been named for Montserrat in Spain, famous in the Holy Grail legends. It was there that both William Davis Fisher and Louis Clarke Fisher were born. But in 1849, a few months after the birth of "Lou," came the death of the young wife and mother.

During the early 1850's George Fisher managed the plantation of Capt. Joseph Regan, who as a member of the Legislature was often away. George would have to go on business to New Orleans, perhaps; he became experienced in practical matters. His two sons stayed with their grandmother at "Twin Halls," as said above, until 1862. On July 2, 1854, just after their father's visit to quitclaim the property, and just before Hiram's marriage, George W. Fisher married (2nd) Jeannie E. Smith, who had been living as a school teacher in the Regan home.

Jeannie's father, Joseph Ebenezer Smith of Elmira, New York, was a civil engineer who did work on the Erie Canal. In the early 1850's he went to Illinois and worked on the Illinois Central Railroad. Apparently he invested money in some canal project which failed. (After his death, Jeannie's mother, her invalid brother, and a nephew remained in Illinois—until just before the Civil War, when her husband brought them down to live in Cayuga). Jeannie herself in the early 1850's had gone to Lake Village, Arkansas to visit some relatives there, a family named Harpin. She then came to visit a friend in Claiborne County, a Miss Medora Taylor, who probably lived in Rocky Springs. It was thus that Jeannie came to know the Regan family —and then to be married to George W. Fisher.

Their marriage took place at the Regans' home at Regan's Island on the Big Black—or rather, on the opposite bank of the river! In the Fisher Bible now in possession of Blanche (Fisher) Yates of Cayuga, the bridegroom afterward wrote:

> George W. Fisher was married to Jeannie E. Smith on the 2nd day of July 1854 at the house of Jos. Regan in Claiborne County Mississippi by Mr. D.A.J. Parker a Methodist minister. The License was obtained in Vicksburg and the ceremony was performed just opposite Mr. Regan's house in Warren Co.

That is, the license was not valid in Claiborne County; and so the wedding party boarded the ferry and had the knot tied on other shore.

The Fishers moved to nearby Cayuga, in Hinds County, where at first they lived in a rented house. A license recorded in Ray-

mond shows that in 1854 Fisher opened a store in Cayuga. His general merchandise was freighted by ox team or mule wagon from Grand Gulf or Vicksburg. In 1857 he acquired the place in Cayuga where he and his family lived for many years afterward. It had orginally belonged to an early settler, Samuel H. Osborne, one of three brothers from Auburn, New York who brought the names "Auburn," "Cayuga," and "Utica" to Hinds County. Osborne had sold it to people named Belcher; Mrs. Belcher, widowed, was married (2nd) to Heyward Foote, who had to mortgage the place. George W. Fisher bought the mortgage, kept the part that had the house on it, and deeded the rest back to the Footes. Through the years Fisher acquired several thousand acres of land in the Cayuga district, and became a prosperous cotton planter and merchant. He disliked the institution of slavery, and even before Emancipation he employed free labor when he could, both white and black. He owned a cotton gin; and his house served as a meeting place for travelers and visitors.

In 1861, George W. Fisher was 38 years old, the father of two sons by his first wife, three by his second. We do not know to what extent, if any, he may have been influenced by the visit from his father, who came by at that point and rode away on his black horse. But we do know that he, like his brother Hiram, did not approve of Secession as a remedy for the ills of the South; and we do know that neither served in the Confederate Army. During part of the earlier war period they were buying cattle near Bastrop, Texas, and driving them for sale in Natchez. "Lou Fisher said" that his father and his uncle made at least three such trips, and that Zack Foote and other Cayuga men went with them. Later in the '60's George is said to have been in southern Louisiana, "practicing medicine." But he must have come and gone, and not have been away from Cayuga too long at a time. One thinks of the women at home during that time: of Jeannie in Cayuga, of old Elizabeth at Big Sand.

Jeannie Fisher, her own small children (Genevieve was born in 1861, Madeleine in 1863), her relatives, her two young stepsons, and the Negro servants must have made up the Cayuga household when General Grant and General Sherman established headquarters close by and when the Union forces marched past

the house on their way from Port Gibson to Jackson. (Will and Lou sat on the gateposts to watch them). We know that George W. Fisher "took the Oath" in Vicksburg in 1862; that his son Lyman Legrand was born in 1866; that life went on, though spiritual scars may have been inflicted on both old and young. In 1866, George was paid $10,000 by the U.S. government in compensation for cotton destroyed; later he received a second sum. Though few others of his neighbors came through the war with that much, it seems that they still respected the Fishers—who were no scalawags. They had followed their convictions, as others had followed theirs.

In March 1867 the hated Reconstruction Acts were put into effect. The county records for Hinds County are very incomplete for the Reconstruction period; our recent research convinces us that they were never properly kept during the Carpetbag Era, or were destroyed. We know that during 1867-68 George W. Fisher was Justice of the Peace for the Cayuga district. His commission is on file in Raymond, but little else. In 1868, when Ames was appointed Governor of Mississippi, we believe that Fisher was persuaded to "offer" for the Board of Police, local people feeling that he could qualify (having "taken the Oath") yet was honest and strong enough to control his fellow members, all black. But for this period the records are "lost." The old "Board of Police" was superseded on November 15, 1869 by the County Supervisor system. We have "always heard" that George W. Fisher tried to serve his community during this period, was "criticized by some," and would never again hold a public office. Hiram held office in Claiborne County, however. Carpetbag rule was climaxed in Hinds County by the bloody riot at Clinton in 1875; but after that the worst was over, and the white Democrats regained control.

Jeannie (Smith) Fisher, the small and determined "bluestocking" from New York state, was remembered by her children as a reserved Victorian lady, rather unconcerned with the life about her—the farm work, the store, the muddy roads, the clattering Negroes. She kept up her reading and her studies, never "losing" her Latin or her French—for she had been well taught in an academy in New York or in New England. She cultivated her garden, growing beautiful roses and lilies and lilacs. She taught

her children to think their own thoughts. Her youngest daughter Blanche Yates has lived her life in a similar place, just across the road from the site of her parents' home. Blanche's eldest son, F. L. Yates, has his store in almost the location of his grandfather's. "Miss Pearl" Fisher lived for many years in the same home locality, dying there in 1953.

To his children, George W. Fisher was a loving father, but a stern one whose disapproval was to be feared. He died in Cayuga in 1901, aged 78—the age his father attained also. The inscription on his stone in Cayuga cemetery reads, "An Honest Man." Some of his descendants can still remember him—his dry wit, his piercing eyes, his beard, his authoritative dignity. Since it was he who lived longest, up into the 20th century, it is he who now stands most clearly as the embodiment of the Fisher family in the memory of the three of us who have labored in creating this history. But Hiram, dead now some three-quarters of a century, is still a living legend. Old George Fisher of Hungary, whom we have (to our own great surprise) been able to re-discover, had been only a myth.

Yet some of his grandchildren and great grandchildren had seen his portrait, with sword and pen; they had even played with the sword itself, however it got to Mississippi. They saw the old Mexican saddle, the pistols, the poncho "with a hole in it." Then there were the cufflinks made of soft gold mined by Hiram in California. These still exist, but all the rest are gone.

Here we give the obituary published in a local paper after the death of Hiram Fisher in 1884:

Honorable Hiram Fisher died at his home in the northern part of the county last Friday night. During the recent term of the Circuit Court he served on the Grand Jury, and on returning to his home after the close of the court, he was thrown from his horse and had two ribs broken. The injuries were not deemed serious; Mr. Fisher probably neglected himself. At all events, pneumonia followed, and he rapidly grew worse and expired Friday night.

Mr. Fisher was a native of Claiborne County and was one of its most useful citizens; a man of broad views and common sense, he was one of the leaders among men and wielded great influence in his neighborhood and county. He was tenacious in his opinions, and bold and emphatic in expressing them, and in many various public offices held by him he was always prominent. His judgment and prudence made him useful to people on many difficult and trying occasions. Mr. Fisher was a careful and successful business man, and accumulated sufficient to leave his family in very independent circumstances.

His death is much lamented by those who knew him, and the County has lost one of its wisest citizens. Mr. Fisher was about sixty-four years of age.

From the Port Gibson *Southern Reveille,* Dec. 27, 1884.

State Archives, Jackson, Miss.

In certain documents dated 1866-1875, and filed in the records of the Chancery Court of Claiborne County, Hiram Fisher's name appears with the middle initial Z. His daughter Alice (Fisher) Armitage stated that it stood for Zachariah, or Zachriah; or possibly it was Zachary. He never used it ordinarily, and was never known except as Hiram Fisher. Possibly he adopted it during that period of Reconstruction in order to avoid confusion with another Hiram Fisher who was locally prominent.

II. Family Graveyard

The family cemetery on the Big Sand plantation, near where "Twin Halls" stood, has become overgrown and difficult of access. Some of the older (Davis) graves are no longer marked, but all these family graves have been visited and recognized within recent years. Two graves remain unidentified; possibly one was that of Elizabeth Mars, wife of Josiah Mars, the original owner of this particular piece of land. We recall, too, that when Leah (Davis) Alford died it was after childbirth, and we know of no grave for her infant who died also. In the lists which follow, names are given in order of dates of death.

A. These graves are now unmarked. These members of the Davis family may be identified by reference to pages 182-185. Data supplied or inferred from court records.

Reuben Davis (ca. 1768-1821)
Jeptha Davis (1808-1821)
Sarah (Disharoon) Davis (ca. 1770-1828)
Aden Davis (1812-1833)
Hiram Marshall Robinson (ca. 1826-1835)
Leah (Davis) Alford (ca. 1790-1837)
Thomas Robinson (1830-1847)

B. These graves are marked, but in listing the names and dates of birth and death we do not reproduce the complete inscriptions as our purpose here is to record *which* members of the family (mainly that of Hiram Fisher) were here buried. All may be identified through the Index of Names and the genealogical index numbers, which will refer to pages 236-240. In many cases the data there given were supplied by these gravestones.

Marguret (or Margaret) Fisher (1819-1821)
Maria Louisa Fisher (1830-1840)
William Calhoun Fisher (1855-1859)
John Quitman Fisher (1859-1861)
Walter Scott Fisher (1861-1863)
Elizabeth (Davis) Fisher (1795-1865)
Amelia (Haring) Fisher (1862-1883)
Hiram Fisher (1821-1884)
Charles Hiram Armitage (1885-1885)
Mary Ella Fisher (1880-1885)
Hiram George Fisher (1869-1887)
Mary Elizabeth (Anderson) Fisher (1839-1892)
Aden Davis Fisher (1870-1903)
Noel Edwin Fisher (1900-1906)
Charles LeGrande Fisher (1903-1913)

III. The Descendants of Hiram Fisher

H 2(2) HIRAM FISHER on July 14, 1854 in Hinds Co., married Mary Elizabeth Anderson, dau. of David and Jane (Sansing) Anderson. She was born Apr. 26, 1839 in Oglethorpe Co., Ga., and died Jan. 31, 1892 in Claiborne Co. He died Dec. 12, 1884 in Claiborne Co. Both are buried in the old Davis-Fisher cemetery.

Children: 10, born in Claiborne Co.; the first 3 at "Twin Halls," the last 7 at Fisher's Ferry:

				Born	*Died*
	H	3(3)	William Calhoun	1855	1859
*	H	4(3)	Noel Byron	Jan. 21, 1857	Apr. 1, 1918
	H	5(3)	John Quitman	1859	1861
	H	6(3)	Walter Scott	1861	1863
*	H	7(3)	Alice	Feb. 3, 1864	Dec. 31, 1946
*	H	8(3)	Ida Elizabeth	Jul. 28, 1866	Nov. 9, 1925
	H	9(3)	Hiram George	Jan. 12, 1869	Aug. 16, 1887
*	H	10(3)	Aden Davis	Sept. 30, 1870	Dec. 21, 1903
*	H	11(3)	Eugene Sue	Feb. 15, 1874	Jul. 17, 1932
	H	12(3)	Mary Ella	Sept. 6, 1880	Nov. 3, 1885

H 4(3) NOEL BYRON FISHER was born at "Twin Halls," and as a child went with his parents during the Civil War to Indiana for a time. He grew up at the Fisher's Ferry place, and was educated at Union Academy in Claiborne Co. Inheriting property from his father, and later acquiring more land, he became a large property owner. He married (1st) Mar. 13, 1879 at Rocky Springs, Amelia Haring, dau. of John R. and Amelia (Russell) Haring. She was born in Claiborne Co. May 2, 1862. They lived at "Sylvacola," a portion of the Davis-Fisher (or "Twin Halls") estate, between Fisher's Ferry and Reganton; she died there Oct. 10, 1883, and was buried in the Davis-Fisher cemetery.

Children: 2 by 1st wife, born at "Sylvacola," in Claiborne Co.:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	13(4)	Katie Beatrice	Jan. 15, 1880	Nov. 8, 1944
*	H	14(4)	Ruby Amelia	Jul. 5, 1881	Nov. 13, 1946

He married (2nd) Feb. 17, 1885 at Utica, Lucy Caston Mimms, dau. of George Washington and Susan (Dudley) Mimms. She was born in Hinds Co., Mar. 8, 1862 and died in Brookhaven, Mar. 6, 1927. Both she and her husband are buried in Utica, in the Mimms cemetery lot.

Children: 5, by 2nd wife, first 2 born in Utica, last 2 at Reganton:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	15(4)	Lucie Mimms	Nov. 9, 1886	Oct. 19, 1958
*	H	16(4)	Noel Byron, Jr.	May 30, 1888	
*	H	17(4)	Hiram (Hymie)	Feb. 13, 1890	at "Sylvacola"
*	H	18(4)	Susie Mae	Aug. 11, 1893	
	H	19(4)	George Mimms	Nov. 29, 1896	

Ref.: Noel B. Fisher family Bible, in possession of Lucie Mimms (Fisher) Price, Crystal Springs.

Noel Byron Fisher after his second marriage (1885) moved to Utica; then in 1889 he returned to "Sylvacola"; and in 1892 he moved to Reganton.

H 7(3) ALICE FISHER was born at "Twin Halls," in Claiborne Co. She attended Nazareth Academy, Bardstown, Ky. On Jan. 5, 1883 at her father's home, then at Fisher's Ferry, she was married to Robert Americus Armitage, son of Charles A. and Lucy (Dean) Armitage. He was born Sept. 14, 1858 near Thibodaux, La., he died Dec. 2, 1946 in Raymond, and she also died there within the same month.

Children: 11, surname ARMITAGE, first 4 born at Fisher's Ferry; next 6 born near Reganton; last one born at Raymond:

				Born	*Died*
	H	20(4)	Charles Hiram	Feb. 11, 1885	Jul. 22, 1885
*	H	21(4)	Ludye Rebecca	June 5, 1886	
*	H	22(4)	Marie Louise	Feb. 19, 1888	
*	H	23(4)	Elizabeth Fisher	Feb. 19, 1890	
*	H	24(4)	Robert Aden	Jan. 5, 1892	Nov. 7, 1949
*	H	25(4)	William Dean	Jan. 7, 1894	
*	H	26(4)	Alice Rosalie	Sept. 8, 1896	

				Born	*Died*
*	H	27(4)	Philip Haman	Dec. 13, 1899	Aug. 12, 1939
*	H	28(4)	Douglas Martin	Jul. 4, 1901	Dec. 1954
*	H	29(4)	Abbie Stark	Dec. 15, 1903	
*	H	30(4)	Ida Dolores	May 15, 1906	

Ref.: Armitage-Fisher family Bible, in possession of Marie Louise (Armitage) May

H 8(3) IDA ELIZABETH FISHER was born at Fisher's Ferry, in Claiborne Co., and died in Edwards. She was a student at St. Xavier Convent, in Vicksburg. On Feb. 22, 1887 she was married to Dr. George Walter Luster, son of Dr. Miles Jerome and Eliza (Nixon) Luster. He was born in Hinds Co., June 10, 1862; he died in Edwards, Dec. 13, 1923. He attended Memphis Medical College, later the medical school of the University of Tennessee, graduating there in 1882. He practiced medicine at Cayuga, Hinds Co., at Copperas Cove, Tex., at Learned, and at Edwards, where he lived for many years.

Children: 11, surname LUSTER:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	31(4)	Lillian	Oct. 29, 1887	April 30
*	H	32(4)	Sadie	Feb. 2, 1889	~~May 11~~, 1958
*	H	33(4)	Mary Eliza	Mar. 19 8, 1891	
*	H	34(4)	Alline	Jan. 3, 1893	
*	H	35(4)	Lucille	Jan. 11, 1895	
*	H	36(4)	George Walter, Jr.	Dec. 30, 1896	
*	H	37(4)	Ida Ethlyn	Dec. 16, 1898	
*	H	38(4)	Camille	Feb. 21, 1901	
	H	39(4)	Gladys	Dec. 10, 1903	
*	H	40(4)	Virdie Louise	Oct. 27, 1905	June 16, 1955
*	H	41(4)	James Everett	Nov. 3, 1909	

H 39(4) GLADYS LUSTER is unmarried; she was born in Learned, and she lives in Greenwood, where she is connected with the Staple Cotton Association.

H 10(3) ADEN DAVIS FISHER was born at Fisher's Ferry, in Claiborne Co., and died at Reganton. He was buried in the Davis-Fisher cemetery. On Feb. 9, 1896 at Rocky Springs, he

married Elizabeth Russell, dau. of Frank and Lucy (Vann) Russell. She was born Mar. 20, 1876 at Trenton. At Belhaven College, Jackson, she was a member of the first graduating class, 1895. They lived near Reganton, in the house she still occupies.

Children: 5, born near Reganton, Claiborne Co.:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	42(4)	Walter Russell	Dec. 26, 1896	
*	H	43(4)	George Earl	Aug. 13, 1898	
	H	44(4)	Noel Edwin	May 13, 1900	Jan. 14, 1906
*	H	45(4)	Bertha Alice	Oct. 21, 1901	
*	H	46(4)	Aden Davis	Nov. 14, 1903	

Elizabeth (Russell) Fisher, widow of Aden Davis Fisher, on Dec. 26, 1905 was married (2nd) to Xavier Eli Wilkerson, who was born Jan. 31, 1869 at Auburn, Hinds Co., and died Sept. 19, 1950 near Reganton. Their children, born near Reganton, are:

1. Saydee Elizabeth, born Oct. 31, 1906. On June 19, 1934, she was married to Cmdr. Frank L. McLemore, U.S.N., Ret. Res., Silver Spring, Md.

2. Leola Bailey, born Jan. 25, 1909. On Aug. 28, 1928, she was married to William Austin Pickett. Res., Edwards.
   Their children are twin daughters, born July 28, 1934:
   Nancy Elizabeth Pickett on July 1, 1956 was married to Samuel David Dantzler, Jr.; dau. Janiel Cathron was born June 26, 1957.
   Janiel Katherine Pickett on Dec. 22, 1957 was married to Ralph McGee Stutts.

3. Xavier Elec, born Feb. 18, 1918. In 1942 he married Pauline Wheat. Res., Atlanta, Ga.

Several of the reunions of the Fisher family and their connections, on the last Sunday in June, in recent years, have been picnics held at the home of Mrs. Wilkerson (formerly Mrs. Aden Davis Fisher), and of her son, Walter Russell Fisher.

H 11(3) EUGENE SUE FISHER was born at Fisher's Ferry, Claiborne Co., and died at Leland. On Mar. 9, 1892 at Cayuga, he married Emma Chatham, dau. of William H. and Mary Anne (Thornton) Chatham. She was born at Cayuga, Sept. 11, 1871.

He lived in Claiborne Co., and later at Leland, where he was general plantation manager for McGee, Dean and Co.

Children: 6, first 5 born in Claiborne Co., last 1 in Greenville:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	47(4)	Eugene Henry	Mar. 22, 1894	
*	H	48(4)	Annie Mae	June 13, 1896	
*	H	49(4)	Ethel Emma	Aug. 12, 1898	
*	H	50(4)	Thelma	Sept. 24, 1900	
	H	51(4)	Charles LeGrande	Mar. 27, 1903	June 27, 1913
*	H	52(4)	Hugh Gayden	Oct. 24, 1916	

H 13(4) KATIE BEATRICE FISHER on Dec. 21, 1899 at Reganton was married to Morgan P. Hutchins, son of James Easterling and Mary (Harris) Hutchins. He was born July 24, 1877. They lived on "Homewood Plantation", at Reganton. She died in Vicksburg. He now lives in Clearwater, Fla.

Children: 7, surname HUTCHINS, born on "Homewood Plantation," Reganton:

				Born	*Died*
*	H	53(5)	Edwin Vandorn	Dec. 16, 1900	
	H	54(5)	Zolly C.	Jul. 28, 1902	
*	H	55(5)	Amelia Russell	Jan. 19, 1904	
	H	56(5)	Ruby	Jan. 15, 1912	
	H	57(5)	James Edward	June 10, 1914	
	H	58(5)	Wade Hampton	Mar. 29, 1916	
*	H	59(5)	Leola Marie	June 14, 1922	

H 56(5) RUBY HUTCHINS is unmarried and lives in Clearwater, Fla.

H 54(5) ZOLLY C. HUTCHINS, H 57(5) JAMES EDWARD HUTCHINS, and H 58(5) WADE HAMPTON HUTCHINS, are unmarried and are planters living near Utica.

H 14(4) RUBY AMELIA FISHER on April 10, 1901 at Reganton was married to Sol Causey Ray, son of John Miles and Althea (Benton) Ray. He was born at Wesson, Aug. 7, 1881, and died at Durant, Nov. 5, 1943. She died in Jackson; both are buried at Durant.

Children: 6, surname RAY, born in Brookhaven:

			Born	*Died*
*	H 60(5)	Clara	Jan. 28, 1902	
*	H 61(5)	Byron Fisher	Jan. 22, 1904	
	H 62(5)	Sol Causey, Jr.	Aug. 17, 1906	Oct. 13, 1909
*	H 63(5)	Charles Menard	Nov. 29, 1908	
*	H 64(5)	Robert Kenneth	Oct. 19, 1912	
*	H 65(5)	John Miles	Apr. 29, 1916	

H 15(4) LUCIE MIMMS FISHER on June 17, 1908 at Reganton was married to William Welby Price, son of William Augustus and Ophelia Dorcas (Taylor) Price. He was born at Carpenter, Copiah Co., Aug. 21, 1885. She was a student at Mississippi College, Clinton. She was a member of the Copiah Co., Chapter of the D.A.R. Res., Crystal Springs. Died at Crystal Springs.

Children: 4, surname PRICE, born in Crystal Springs:

			Born
*	H 66(5)	William Welby, Jr.	Apr. 17, 1909
*	H 67(5)	Douglas Fisher	Oct. 1, 1911
*	H 68(5)	Robert Edward	Feb. 7, 1916
*	H 69(5)	Noel Byron	May 20, 1918

H 16(4) NOEL BYRON FISHER, Jr., on May 30, 1917 at Brookhaven married Alma Maynor, dau. of W. J. and Mary Etta (White) Maynor. She was born Sept. 14, 1891 in Jackson. During World War I, he served in the U. S. Navy. Res., Brookhaven.

Children: 1, born at Brookhaven:

*	H 70(5)	Mary Ann	Born March 3, 1931

H 17(4) HIRAM (HYMIE) FISHER on Aug. 25, 1921 in Nashville, Tenn., married Lee Ernestine Looney, dau. of James Dulen and Virginia Lee (Dean) Looney. She was born Feb. 21, 1890 at Jacinto, Alcorn Co. He is a member of the Mississippi Society of the S.A.R. Res., Round Lake, Bolivar Co.

Children: 2, born at Round Lake:

			Born	*Died*
*	H 71(5)	Virginia Mimms	Jul. 11, 1922	
	H 72(5)	Margaret Ruth	June 12, 1924	Aug. 4, 1949

H 18(4) SUSIE MAE FISHER on June 29, 1910 at Reganton was married to William Henry Thompson. He was born Feb. 4, 1886 in Lincoln Co., and died May 22, 1946 in Brookhaven. She is Matron at the Baptist Hospital in Jackson, and is a member of the Copiah Co., chapter of the D.A.R.

H 21(4) LUTYE REBECCA ARMITAGE on Oct. 21, 1906 at Raymond was married to Henry De Saussure Gibbes, Jr., son of Henry De Saussure and Anna (Owens) Gibbes. He was born Dec. 20, 1883 at Learned. She was a student at All Saints College, Vicksburg, and a graduate of Port Gibson Female College. Res., Learned.

H 22(4) MARIE LOUISE ARMITAGE on Apr. 1, 1919 at Raymond was married to Dr. Enoch Anselm May, son of Anselm and Rosa (Steen) May. He was born Aug. 23, 1882 at Brandon. Res., Jackson.

Children: 4, surname MAY, born in Jackson:

			Born
*	H 73(5)	Robert Armitage	May 23, 1922
	H 74(5)	Joe Anselm	Mar. 22, 1925
	H 75(5)	George William	May 8, 1927
*	H 76(5)	Marie Louise	Feb. 13, 1929

H 74(5) JOE ANSELM MAY attended Jefferson Military College, Natchez; graduated from Bowling Green Business University, Bowling Green, Ky., in 1950. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Medical Corps, with the Third Army in Germany. He is an accountant, and lives in Jackson.

H 75(5) GEORGE WILLIAM MAY was a student at Baylor School, Chattanooga, Tenn. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy Medical Corps. He graduated in 1949 from the Television Work Shop School in New York City. Res., Pensacola, Fla.

H 23(4) ELIZABETH FISHER ARMITAGE on May 10, 1923 in Jackson was married to Robert Berry Cooper, son of the Rev. Robert Alanson and Annie Lou (Berry) Cooper of Senatobia. He was born Aug. 5, 1889 in New Albany. A retired executive with Humble Oil Co., he at one time managed Texas land that had once been owned by George Fisher. Res., Houston, Tex.

H 24(4) ROBERT ADEN ARMITAGE on Apr. 9, 1920 in Wilson, La., married Elsie Mae Cunningham, dau. of Hugh David and Eudora (Watson) Cunningham. She was born there, May 16, 1898. During World War I he served in the U. S. Navy. He died in the Baptist Hospital, Jackson; his widow lives in Washington, D. C.

Children: 2, born in Wilson, La.:

			Born
	H 77(5)	Robbie May	Dec. 26, 1920
*	H 78(5)	Doris Aden	June 18, 1925

H 77(5) ROBBIE MAY (ARMITAGE) HART is an employee of the U. S. Government, in the Pentagon. She lives with her mother in Washington, D. C.

H 25(4) WILLIAM DEAN ARMITAGE on June 18, 1927 in Raymond married Nonnie Geneva Lofton, dau. of Samuel Kelsey and Mary Lenora Lofton. She was born May 29, 1905 in Fayette. In World War I he served with the Motorcycle Corps of the 87th Division, U. S. Army. Res., Vicksburg.

Children: 1, born in Jackson:

*	H 79(5)	Jeanne	Born Aug. 22, 1930

H 26(4) ALICE ROSALIE ARMITAGE on July 6, 1921 in Raymond was married to Arthur Dowell Johnson, son of Benjamin Franklin and Sally (Jones) Johnson. He was born July 17, 1881 at Milan, Tenn. Res., Jackson.

Children: 4, surname JOHNSON, born in Jackson, Tenn.:

		Born
H 80(5)	Joyce Armitage	Oct. 18, 1926
H 81(5)	Frank Fisher	Feb. 28, 1929
H 82(5)	Ralph Burton	June 7, 1931
H 83(5)	Mary Jane	May 19, 1936

H 81(5) FRANK FISHER JOHNSON served in Korea with the Heavy Motor Corps, 5th Inf. Reg., 24th Div. He took a degree at the New Orleans Baptist Seminary, and is now a minister in Jackson, Tenn.

H 27(4) PHILIP HAMAN ARMITAGE on Nov. 18, 1935 in Jackson, married Arlene Eakes, dau. of Pettigrew Moore and Bessie Mae (Cole) Eakes. She was born Jan. 26, 1919 in Cartwright, Tex. He was a cotton broker; was a secretary to U. S. Sen. Theo. G. Bilbo of Mississippi; died in Vicksburg. His widow and daughter live in Natchez.

Children: 1, born in Washington, D. C.:

H 84(5) Patricia Born Feb. 14, 1937

H 28(4) DOUGLAS MARTIN ARMITAGE on July 4, 1901 married Treasure Grafton of Dubach, La. He died in December, 1954 at Bolton, Miss.

H 29(4) ABBIE STARK ARMITAGE on Jul. 18, 1922 was married (1st) to Emmett King Cunningham, son of James E. and Ruby (King) Cunningham. He was born on Aug. 7, 1902 in Holmes Co., and died there Jan. 19, 1950. They were divorced, and she was married (2nd) on June 6, 1936 to Eugene Anderson Wimberly, son of Robert Paul and Eunice (Anderson) Wimberly. He was born Oct. 8, 1892 in Savannah, Ga. Res., Louisville, Ky.

Children: 2, surname CUNNINGHAM, changed to WIMBERLEY in 1936, born in Lexington, ~~Ky.~~ Miss.:

			Born
*	H 85(5)	Emmett King	Dec. 29, 1923
*	H 86(5)	John Armitage	June 15, 1926

H 30(4) IDA DOLORES ARMITAGE on Mar. 20, 1929 in Greenwood was married to Parker Blake Higdon, son of Dr. Joseph Clarence and Mamie (Love) Higdon of Hazelhurst. He was born Jan. 5, 1905 at Glancey. Res., Belzoni.

Children: 2, surname HIGDON:

			Born
*	H 87(5)	Parker Blake, Jr.	May 21, 1933, in Yazoo City
*	H 88(5)	Paul Armitage	Feb. 17, 1938, in Greenwood

H 31(4) LILLIAN LUSTER was born at Fisher's Ferry. On Dec. 24, 1905 in Learned she was married to John Lake Gibbes, son of

Henry DeSaussure and Anna (Owen) Gibbes. He was born June 15, 1886 in Learned, and died there Apr. 15, 1938.

Children: 6, surname GIBBES, first 5 born in Learned, last 1 in Jackson:

			Born
*	H 89(5)	Anna Wilmont	Jul. 7, 1907
*	H 90(5)	Ida Leneve	Apr. 30, 1910
*	H 91(5)	John Lake, Jr.	Jan. 13, 1913
*	H 92(5)	Walter Henry	June 24, 1914
*	H 93(5)	Herman DeSaussure	Mar. 19, 1919
	H 94(5)	Frank Earlton	Nov. 14, 1925

H 32(4) SADIE LUSTER was born at Fisher's Ferry and died in Vicksburg. On Nov. 17, 1909 at Edwards she was married to Frank Edgar Everett, son of Alexander John and Keren (Happuch) Everett. He was born Jan. 22, 1875 at Little Springs and died May 11, 1955 at Indianola. He took his degree in law in 1901 at Millsaps College; became attorney for Sunflower Co., Indianola; circuit judge, Fourth Judicial District, 1913-17; Chancellor of Ninth District, 1949; president of Mississippi Bar Association, 1936.

Children: 2, surname EVERETT, born in Indianola:

			Born
*	H 95(5)	Frank Edgar, Jr.	Dec. 3, 1910
*	H 96(5)	George Alexander	Jan. 23, 1913

H 33(4) MARY ELIZA LUSTER was born in Copperas Cove, Tex. On Mar. 24, 1920 at Edwards she was married to John Henry Tatum, Jr., son of John Henry and Kate (Walton) Tatum. He was born at Edwards on Oct. 7, 1887. Res., Edwards.

Children: 2, surname TATUM, first born in Edwards, second in Vicksburg.

			Born	*Died*
	H 97(5)	Jane Elizabeth	Oct. 8, 1925,	Jul. 19, 1928
*	H 98(5)	Betty Jean	Oct. 13, 1929,	

H 34(4) ALLINE LUSTER was born at Cayuga. On Jul. 22, 1918 in Edwards she was married to Sydney Knox Askew, son of

Thomas Newton and Mary Glynn (Redfield) Askew. He was born July 6, 1894 in Edwards, and died there Jan. 15, 1941.

Children: 2, surname ASKEW, born in Edwards:

		Born
* H 99(5)	Sydney Knox	Nov. 30, 1925
* H 100(5)	Thomas Luster	Nov. 4, 1927

H 35(4) LUCILLE LUSTER was born at Cayuga. On Sept. 11, 1928 she was married to Daniel Lawson Moore, who was born Sept. 3, 1884 in Harrodsburg, Ky. Res., Edwards.

H 36(4) GEORGE WALTER LUSTER was born at Cayuga. On Dec. 30, 1924 he married Florence Irene Askew, dau. of Thomas N. and Eva (Harris) Askew. She was born Aug. 2, 1901 at Edwards. Res., Edwards.

Children: 1, born at Edwards:

		Born	*Died*
H 101(5)	Marion Melvin	Oct. 3, 1925	Jul. 12, 1928

H 37(4) IDA ETHLYN LUSTER was born at Cayuga. On Mar. 2, 1920 in Vicksburg, she was married to Walter Branson Adams, Jr., son of Walter Branson and Margaret (Terrell) Adams. He was born Oct. 11, 1899 at Bolton. Res., Glendale, Ariz.

Children: 2, surname ADAMS, born in Vicksburg:

		Born
* H 102(5)	Walter Branson, III	Jan. 31, 1921
* H 103(5)	James Luster	Jul. 11, 1935

H 38(4) CAMILLE LUSTER was born at Learned. On Jul. 15, 1931 at ~~Greenwood~~ Memphis, Tenn. she was married to Calvin Jones Coleman, son of Cal. and Clyde (Eades) Coleman. He was born July 20, 1899 in Carroll Co. They live in Greenwood, where he is a manager of the Staple Cotton Association.

Children: 1, surname COLEMAN, born in Greenwood:

* H 104(5)	Gladys Aden	Born Jan. 3, 1937

H 40(4) VIRDIE LOUISE LUSTER was born at Learned. On Dec. 24, 1925 in Edwards, she was married to Manson Ashley Fountain, son of William Ashley and Fannie (Murdoch) Fountain.

He was born Mar. 6, 1903 at Evergreen, Ala. They lived in Yazoo City, where he is connected with the Mississippi Chemical plant. She died at Yazoo City.

Children: 2, surname FOUNTAIN:

		Born
* H 105(5)	George Ashley	Oct. 30, 1926, in Vicksburg
* H 106(5)	Lucille	Mar. 7, 1929, in Yazoo City

H 41(4) JAMES EVERETT LUSTER was born at Edwards. On June 10, 1937 he married Alice Eva Carstarphen, dau. of Albert Myrick and Mary Frances (Tucker) Carstarphen. She was born June 6, 1914 at Bolton. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army in Italy, in the 34th Div. He resides in Yazoo City, where he is manager of the Staple Cotton Association.

Children: 2

		Born
H 107(5)	Jean Elizabeth	Apr. 24, 1939, in Vicksburg
H 108(5)	James Everett, Jr.	Apr. 18, 1941, in Clarksdale

H 42(4) WALTER RUSSELL FISHER on Aug. 15, 1927 in Vicksburg married Evelyn McLemore, dau. of John A. and Willie Mae (Loper) McLemore. She was born Nov. 2, 1908 in Union Parish, La. They were divorced. He attended A. & M. College, Starkville; there in 1918 he was attached to S.A.T.C. Unit, Co. 1, 3rd Detach., U. S. Army. He is a member of the Mississippi Genealogical Society, and active in genealogical research in several states. He lives at his family home in Claiborne Co.; address: Route 2, Utica, Miss.

Children: 2:

		Born
* H 109(5)	George Russell	Jul. 6, 1928, in Borger, Tex.
* H 110(5)	Kay Allison	Sept. 9, 1932, in Bastrop, La.

H 43(4) GEORGE EARL FISHER on Dec. 23, 1926 in New Orleans, La., married Corinne Cambre, dau. of Wilford Louis

Mitchell and Rachel (Lambert) Cambre. They live in New Orleans, where he operates an automobile and truck rental business.

Children: 3, born in New Orleans:

		Born
*	H 111(5) Earl Byron	Nov. 16, 1928
*	H 112(5) Elizabeth	Nov. 10, 1930
	H 113(5) Robert Leonard	Nov. 7, 1936

H 45(4) BERTHA ALICE FISHER on Aug. 10, 1919 at Utica was married to Walter Hicks White, Jr., son of Walter and Belzora (Luster) White. He was born in Oct., 1896 at Learned, and died Mar. 23, 1956. During World War I he served in the U. S. Army. She now resides in Vicksburg.

Children: 2, surname WHITE:

		Born
*	H 114(5) Walter Aden	June 17, 1920, at Learned
*	H 115(5) Laura Belle	Feb. 9, 1924, at Claiborne Co.

H 46(4) ADEN DAVIS FISHER on Apr. 26, 1924 at Utica was married to Samuel Melvin White, Jr., son of Samuel Melvin and Carrie (Herrin) White. He is a merchant and cattle raiser. They live "at the Reganton crossroads," near Utica.

Children: 1, surname WHITE, born in Tallulah, La.:

*	H 116(5) Samuel Melvin, III	Born Apr. 19, 1925

H 47(4) EUGENE HENRY FISHER was born at Fisher's Ferry. On Mar. 22, 1928 at Leland he married Averal Allena Wright, who was born Aug. 22, 1904 at Blossom, Tex. In World War I he served in the U. S. Marine Corps in France, in the Meuse Argonne Offensive and elsewhere, and was wounded in action Nov. 2, 1918. Res., Leland.

Children: 2, born at Leland:

		Born
	H 117(5) Eugene Henry, Jr.	Aug. 17, 1940
	H 118(5) Gayden	Nov. 25, 1944

H 48(4) ANNIE MAE FISHER was born near Cayuga. On June 5, 1918 she was married to Dr. Burke Hull Campbell, who

practiced medicine in Indianola for some fifty years. He was born in DeKalb, Kemper Co., Mar. 17, 1880, and died Nov. 20, 1956.

H 49(4) ETHEL EMMA FISHER was born at Reganton. In 1926 at Leland she was married to Golsby Burrous Butterworth. ~~They both teach in the public schools in Fulton, Ky.~~

H 50(4) THELMA FISHER was born at Reganton. On June 25, 1924 she was married at Hollandale to Lewis Ivy Jones. He is in extension work with the U. S. Farm Bureau in Washington, D. C. Res., Arlington, Va.

Children: 1, surname JONES, born in Columbus:

H 119(4) Lewis Ivy, Jr. Born July 14, 1933

H 52(4) HUGH GAYDEN FISHER on June 19, 1949 in Indianola married Ruth Carmen Allen, dau. of Percy Wilmore and Ruth Cornelia (Braden) Allen. She was born Feb. 23, 1922 at Moorhead. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army in the Pacific area. Member of Mississippi Society of the S.A.R. Res., Indianola.

Children: 2, born at Indianola:

		Born
H 120(5)	Burke Hull	Nov. 16, 1952
H 121(5)	Sue Allen	Jul. 19, 1956

H 53(4) EDWIN VANDORN HUTCHINS on Feb. 12, 1928 in Greenville married Emma Stewart, dau. of John Henry and Ida (Collier) Stewart. She was born Jan. 28, 1910 in Little Rock, Ark. Res., Vicksburg.

Children: 6:

			Born	
*	H 122(6)	Martha Ann	Dec. 15, 1929,	in Greenville
	H 123(6)	Betty Jane	Mar. 26, 1931,	in Greenville
	H 124(6)	Barbara Ellen	June 12, 1933,	in Vicksburg
	H 125(6)	Shirley Carolyn	May 21, 1935,	in Utica
	H 126(6)	Dorothy Louise	Jan. 31, 1940,	in Bolton
	H 127(6)	Charlotte Sue	Sept. 5, 1943,	in Bolton

Lewis Ivy Jones, A.B. from Mississippi A & M. M.A. from Cornell University. With U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

H 55(5) AMELIA RUSSELL HUTCHINS on Aug. 13, 1923 in Port Gibson was married to Charles Jefferson Groves, son of William Peyton and Mary Bell (Neal) Groves of Winchester, Tenn. He was born May 17, 1895 in Franklin Co., Tenn. Res., Clearwater, Fla.

Children: 4, surname GROVES, first 1 born in Port Gibson, last 3 in Vicksburg:

			Born
*	H 128(6)	Charles Jefferson, Jr.	Jul. 24, 1924
*	H 129(6)	William Morgan	May 5, 1927
	H 130(6)	Noel Fisher	Jan. 24, 1931
	H 131(6)	Daniel Ray	Jan. 11, 1935

H 59(5) LEOLA MARIE HUTCHINS on Dec. 23, 1939 in Clearwater, Fla., was married to Ralph B. Bearden, son of Jesse and Mattie Bearden. He was born Oct. 29, 1917 in West Union, S. C. Res., Clearwater, Fla.

Children: 3, surname BEARDEN, born in Clearwater, Fla.

		Born
H 132(6)	Kathlyn	Dec. 4, 1942
H 133(6)	Gail	Oct. 8, 1947
H 134(6)	Ralph Bennett	Sept. 8, 1950

H 60(5) CLARA RAY on June 20, 1923 at Durant was married to William Goebel Mize, son of Joseph Young and Minerva Jenkins (Campbell) Mize. He was born Feb. 12, 1900 at Rock Castle, Trigg Co., Ky. They live in Jackson, where he is Superintendent of the Baptist Orphanage.

Children: 3, surname MIZE, born in Jackson:

			Born
*	H 135(6)	William Goebel, Jr.	Aug. 2, 1924
		Jerry Lawrence (adopted)	Feb. 22, 1937
	H 136(6)	Nancy Ray	Feb. 11, 1941

H 61(5) ~~CHARLES MENARD~~ BYRON FISHER RAY on Nov. 22, 1939 in Durant married Margaret Carroll, dau. of James Benjamin and Mary

Elizabeth (May) Carroll. She was born Sept. 14, 1916 in Grenada. Res., Memphis, Tenn.

Children: 2, born in Durant:

			Born
*	H 137(6)	Betty Jo	Mar. 3, 1937
	H 138(6)	Byron Fisher, Jr.	Sept. 14, 1942

H 63(5) CHARLES MENARD RAY on Nev. 22, 1939 in Durant married Clytee Thorn, dau. of Charles Nelson and Mary Ann (Maxey) Thorn. She was born Oct. 2, 1907 in Pittsboro. Res., Durant.

H 64(5) ROBERT KENNETH RAY on Feb. 14, 1936 in Durant married Dorothy Baine, dau. of Harvey Julius and Minnie Florence (Parker) Baine. She was born July 7, 1914 in Durant. They live in Durant, where he has served as mayor.

H 65(5) JOHN MILES RAY on Oct. 12, 1940 in Durant married Laverne Tartt, dau. of Mike William and Johnny Mary (Herbert) Tartt. She was born Oct. 8, 1921 in Hollandale. Res., Durant.

H 66(5) WILLIAM WELBY PRICE, Jr., on Oct. 24, 1937 in Jackson married Martha Lou Gallman, dau. of John and Alice (Massey) Gallman. She was born Feb. 7, 1909 in Gallman, Copiah Co. Res., Crystal Springs.

Children: 1, born in Crystal Springs:

Martha Lou (adopted) Born Nov. 19, 1931

H 67(5) DOUGLAS FISHER PRICE on May 6, 1939 in Newton, Iowa, married Wanda Goodhue, dau. of Thomas W. and Cathrine (Engle) Goodhue. She was born there, Feb. 17, 1915. Res., Crystal Springs.

Children: 4, first two in Memphis, Tenn., third in Jackson, fourth in Brookhaven.

		Born
H 139(6)	Betty Sue	Dec. 25, 1939
H 140(6)	Lucie Ann	Feb. 1, 1941
H 141(6)	Cathrine Harriet	June 1, 1943
H 142(6)	William Douglas	Mar. 7, 1951

H 68(5) ROBERT EDWARD PRICE on May 6, 1939 in Jackson married Cynthia Louise Virden, dau. of Harris and Lucille (Buchanan) Virden. She was born Oct. 7, 1917 in Jackson. He graduated from Mississippi State College in 1938, and was commissioned as 2nd Lt., U. S. Army, Reserves. In World War II he was called to active duty in Army Air Corps; honorably discharged with rank of Major. Field representative of the National Cotton Council. Res., Grenada.

Children: 1, born in Jackson:

H 143(6) Cynthia Diane — Apr. 29, 1942

H 69(5) NOEL BYRON PRICE on Sept. 17, 1950 in Raymond married Mabel McNair, dau. of Vernon Ellis and Ida Lilly (Broadwater) McNair. She was born Nov. 10, 1916 in Utica. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, 1940-45, in Ireland, England, France, Germany, and Austria. Res., Jackson, where he is manager of the Mississippi Industries for the Blind.

Children: 1, born in Jackson:

H 144(6) Noel Byron, Jr. — June 24, 1951

H 70(5) MARY ANN FISHER on Sept. 20, 1950 was married to H. Lamar Morse.

H 71(5) VIRGINIA MIMMS FISHER on Sept. 21, 1944 in Atlanta, Ga., was married to Walter Warren White, Jr., son of Walter and Maude (Ulmer) White. He was born Feb. 9, 1919 in Jackson. He is a Commander in the U. S. Navy, and has served in Alaska; at the Atlantic Fleet Weather Control, Norfolk, Va., NAS; Petropovlovsk, U.S.S.R. and elsewhere; stationed recently in Washington, D.C.

Children: 4, surname WHITE, first in Cleveland, second in Indianola, third in San Diego, Calif., last in Washington, D.C.

		Born
H 146(6)	Walter Warren, III	Jul. 11, 1947
H 147(6)	John Fisher	May 17, 1949
H 148(6)	Margaret Jane	June 12, 1952
H 149(6)	William Jeffrey	June 20, 1958

H 73(5) ROBERT ARMITAGE MAY on Sept. 26, 1944 in Atlanta, Ga., married Gloria Elizabeth Darden, dau. of Allen W. Darden. He attended the University of Mississippi; graduated in 1944 from Atlanta Southern Dental College. During World War II he served as a Lt. in the U. S. Naval Dental Corps. Res., Jackson.

Children: 2, born in Jackson:

		Born
H 150(6)	Gloria Ann	Aug. 30, 1946
H 151(6)	Robert Allen	Dec. 31, 1947

H 76(5) MARIE LOUISE MAY attended Millsaps College, the University of Alabama, and Sullins College, Bristol, Va. On Aug. 25, 1951 she was married to Lawrence Speller Johnson, son of Louis Daniel and Bessie (Lee) Johnson. He was born Nov. 30, 1925 in Ozark, Ala., and is an industrial engineer. Res., Jackson.

H 78(5) DORIS ADEN ARMITAGE on May 1, 1944 in Nashville, Tenn., was married to Robert Laster Bennett, of the U. S. Air Force, son of Barney L. and Maude (Laster) Bennett. He was born June 20, 1921 in Winona. He attended Hinds Junior College; graduated 1951 at George Washington University. Member of Phi Beta Kappa. Res., Washington, D.C.

Children: 2, surname BENNETT:

		Born
H 152(6)	Robert Laster, Jr.	Sept. 15, 1945, in Jackson
H 153(6)	Dana Armitage	Aug. 21, 1946, in Arlington, Va.

H 79(5) JEANNE ARMITAGE on June 26, 1950 in Vicksburg was married to Minor Bernard Plyant, son of Victor Lanerge and Lylene (Fowler) Plyant. In the U. S. Army, he has served in the Paratroops of the 82nd Airborne Infantry.

Children: 2, surname PLYANT, born at Ft. Bragg, N. C.

		Born
H 154(6)	Sherry Jeanne	June 27, 1951
H 155(6)	Barry Bernard	Oct. 3, 1954

H 85(5) EMMETT KING WIMBERLY in World War II entered service from The Citadel, Charleston, S. C. in 1943; graduated from Flight School in 1944; flew combat missions in Italy. On June 23, 1946 in Birmingham, Ala., he married Doris Bollier, who was born in 1925 in Mercedes, Tex. In 1951 he was recalled to active duty in Korea; in 1952, as 1st Lt., attached to 1738th Ferrying Squadron, Long Beach, Calif.

Children: 1, born in Louisville, Ky.:

H 156(6) Robert Paul March 16, 1948

H 86(5) JOHN ARMITAGE WIMBERLY on Aug. 13, 1949 in Maysville, Ky., married Marybelle Calvert, who was born there Oct. 21, 1924. He attended The Citadel, Wake Forest, and graduated at the University of Louisville Medical School. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, 106th Inf. Div.

Children: 1, born in Louisville, Ky.:

H 157(6) Susan Calvert Jan. 18, 1952

H 87(5) PARKER BLAKE HIGDON on Sept. 12, 1953 married Zay Spruill, dau. of Damerson Frily Spruill. He attended the University of Mississippi. Res., Greenville, S. C.

Children: 1, born in Greenville, S. C.

H 158(6) Parker Blake, III Sept. 27, 1956

H 89(5) ANNA WILMONT GIBBES on Mar. 20, 1934 at Learned, was married to Albert Goodwin, son of John Albert and Myrta (Ritchie) Goodwin. He was born Mar. 13, 1910 at Utica. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army, with rank of Major. Res., Utica.

Children: 2, surname GOODWIN, born at Utica:

	Born
H 159(6) John Reed	Aug. 26, 1936
H 160(6) Lake Gibbes	Jan. 14, 1940

H 90(5) IDA LENEVE GIBBES on Feb. 5, 1949 in Jackson was married to Edward J. Davis, son of Robert Lee and Eva (Harrison) Davis. He was born Nov. 27, 1900 in Utica. They live in New Orleans, where he is manager of the Pillsbury-Ballard Corp.

Marybelle Calvert, dau. of Clint Campbell and Katherine Gertrude (Buckley) Calvert

H 91(5) JOHN LAKE GIBBES, Jr., on Jan. 1941 at Belzoni married (1st) Annie White Stewart, now deceased, dau. of the Rev. James Charlton and Annie Wells (White) Stewart. She was born Oct. 27, 1916 at Learned.

Children: 2, born at Baptist Hospital, Jackson:

	Born
H 161(6) Ann Stewart	Aug. 26, 1943
H 162(6) Lucy Luster	Aug. 17, 1947

He married (2nd) Lillian Gladney.

H 92(5) WALTER HENRY GIBBES on Aug. 17, 1941 at Morton married Henrietta Ann Taylor, dau. of George Jesse and Pauline (Russell) Taylor. She was born Apr. 8, 1921 at Cohay. He holds an M.A. degree from Mississippi College, Clinton. In World War II he served as Capt. in the U. S. Army Air Corps. They live in Learned, where he is Co-ordinator of the ~~military program~~ Vocational Technical training at Hinds Junior College.

Children: 2, born at Baptist Hospital, Jackson:

	Born
H 163(6) Leneve	July 21, 1943
H 164(6) Walter Henry, Jr.	May 25, 1947

H 93(5) HERMAN DESAUSSURE GIBBES on Feb. 15, 1941, in Memphis, Tenn., married Miriam Pilley, dau. of John Williams and Ida Kay Pilley. She was born Mar. 6, 1921 in Memphis. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy. Res., Jackson.

H 95(5) FRANK EDGAR EVERETT, Jr., on Sept. 23, 1937 in Coffeyville married Clyde Bryant, dau. of Alfred and Clara (Carr) Bryant. At the University of Mississippi he took an A.B. degree in 1932, LL.B. in 1934. In World War II he served in the Naval Air Corps. A practicing attorney, he heads a law firm in Vicksburg. In 1951 he was president of the Mississippi Economic Council; in 1953, elected president of Mississippi Historical Society; vice-president of the Delta Council. Res., Vicksburg.

H 96(5) GEORGE ALEXANDER EVERETT on July 4, 1941 in Washington, D.C. married Marian Alexander, dau. of Matthew David and Mary Ellen (Wyatt) Alexander. She was born Dec. 14,

1914 in Belzoni. At the University of Mississippi he took at A.B. in 1934; LL.B., 1938. He is connected with the F.B.I. Res., Greenwood.

Children: 2:

		Born
H 165(6)	George Alexander, Jr.	Oct. 11, 1942, in Washington
H 166(6)	Karen Ellen	Jul. 8, 1945, in New Orleans, La.

H 98(5) BETTY JEAN TATUM on Sept. 3, 1950 at Edwards was married to George McLaurin Hill, son of C. Preston and Lavenia (McLaurin) Hill. He was born Mar. 29, 1927 in Natchez. He served in Korea as a pilot (1st Lt.) in the U. S. Air Force. Res., Jackson.

Children: 3, surname HILL:

		Born
H 167(6)	Mary Laurin Betty Jane	Apr. 17, 1952 Nov. 19, 1954
	George McLaurin, Jr.	Jan. 23, 1958

H 99(5) SIDNEY KNOX ASKEW on Feb. 22, 1948 in Edwards married Roma Hubbard, dau. of John J. and Josie (Newsome) Hubbard. Res., Edwards.

Children: 3, born in Vicksburg:

		Born
H 168(6)	Sydney Knox, III	Apr. 12, 1951
H 169(6)	Barbara Jo	May 31, 1952
H 170(6)	Daniel Hubbard	June 3, 1957

H 100(5) THOMAS LUSTER ASKEW in Oct., 1957, at Yazoo City, married Daisye Love, dau. of Charles Gilbert and Frances (Love) Rainer. She was born Jan. 13, 1935 at Yazoo City. He took a degree in Business Administration at the University of Mississippi, and has been an administrator at Mercy Hospital, Vicksburg, and at King's Daughters Hospital, Yazoo City.

Children: 1, born in Yazoo City:

H 171(6)	Thomas Luster, Jr.	Sept. 11, 1958

H 102(5) WALTER BRONSON ADAMS, III, on Nov. 6, 1942 in Glendale, Calif., married Marianne Kissel, dau. of Walter P. and

Estelle S. Kissel. She was born Dec. 14, 1921 in Ogden, Utah. Res., Glendale, Calif.

Children: 2:

		Born
H 172(6)	Linda Lee	May 20, 1945, in Ft. Worth, Tex.
H 173(6)	Melissa Kay	May 15, 1953, in ~~Glendale, Calif.~~ Phoenix, Ariz.

H 104(5) ~~ADEN~~ GLADYS COLEMAN on ~~Aug. 3, 1932~~ June 15, 1957 at Greenwood was married to David Evans Pryor, son of Evans Eugene and Mary Virginia (Griffin) Pryor. He was born Aug. 3, 1932. Res. Calhoun City, Miss. Both are graduates of Millsaps College, Jackson.

H 105(5) GEORGE ASHLEY FOUNTAIN on Sept. 8, 1951 in Lafayette, La., married Lucy Chiquelin, dau. of William H. and Minnie (Riley) Chiquelin. She was born Jan. 23, 1930 in Louisville, Ky. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Air Corps in Iran, North Africa, and Liberia; later he was for four years in Army Air Corps Reserve. Res., Orlando, Fla.

Children: 2:

		Born
H 174(6)	George Walter	July 6, 1953, in Shreveport, La.
H 175(6)	~~Robert~~ Donald Ashley	July 30, 1955, in Orlando, Fla.

H 106(5) LUCILLE FOUNTAIN on May 8, 1952 in Yazoo City was married to Robert Peter Hairston, son of George Henry and Estelle (Gholson) Hairston. He was born Nov. 1, 1928 in Yazoo City. Res., Silver City.

Children: 2, surname HAIRSTON:

		Born
H 176(6)	Carol	Feb. 20, 1953, in Yazoo City
H 177(6)	Robert ~~Ashley~~ Peter-	Feb. 27, 1957, in Belzoni

H 107(5) JOAN ELIZABETH LUSTER on Aug. 17, 1957, at Yazoo City, was married to David Bryant Milner.

H 109(5) GEORGE RUSSELL FISHER on Feb. 2, 1952 in Wiesbaden, Germany married Dora Franziska Kost, dau. of Philipp Wilhelm and Luise Elizabethe (May) Kost. She was born Feb. 15, 1929 in Wiesbaden. Since June, 1948 he has served in the U. S. Air Corps, and is stationed at Wiesbaden.

H 110(5) KAY ALLISON FISHER on Jan. 31, 1959 at Denton, Texas married Doris McGregor.

H 111(5) EARL BYRON FISHER on Feb. 25, 1951 in New Orleans married Shirley Booth, dau. of Reginald and Coletta (Huff) Booth. She was born in New Orleans in 1928. He went to Louisiana State University. He is a commercial air pilot (Commissioned Captain) for Capital Air Lines. Res., New Orleans.

Children: 3, born in New Orleans:

		Born
H 178(6)	Earl Byron, Jr.	Jan. 29, 1952
H 179(6)	Erlene Ann	Sept. 28, 1953
H 180(6)	George Lawrence	Dec. 12, 1957

H 112(5) ELIZABETH FISHER on July 23, 1949 in New Orleans was married to Ed Farrington Lester, Jr., son of Ed Farrington and Ava (Armistead) Lester. He was born Apr. 17, 1927 in Shreveport, La. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy. She attended Louisiana State University. Res., Coushatta, La.

Children: 2, surname LESTER, born in Shreveport, La.:

		Born
H 181(6)	Elizabeth Claire	Jan. 10, 1952
H 182(6)	Leu Anne	June 19, 1953

H 113(5) ROBERT LEONARD FISHER on Dec. 29, 1957 in New Orleans married June Ann Jeansonne, who was born June 15, 1939 in New Orleans. Res., New Orleans, La.

H 114(5) WALTER ADEN WHITE on Mar. 11, 1949 in Crawford married Mildred Mitchner, dau. of William G. and Katherine Mitchner. She was born Oct. 1, 1922 in Crawford. During World War II he served in the U. S. Air Transport Command in India. They live in Yazoo City, where he is County Agricultural Agent.

Children: 2:

		Born
H 183(6)	Walter Aden, Jr.	Jul. 20, 1950, in Vicksburg
H 184(6)	Mildred Ann	Dec. 17, 1952, in Yazoo City

H 115(5) LAURA BELLE WHITE on Jan. 12, 1943 in Jackson was married to Gaynell Curtis, son of James and Ethel (Pittman) Curtis. He was born in 1921 in Mendenhall. During World War II as a 1st Lt. in the U. S. Army Air Corps he served in the Pacific Area; with Gen. Doolittle in the first raid on Tokyo; at Yokohama. They reside in Jackson, where he is state manager of an insurance company.

Children: 2, surname CURTIS:

		Born
H 185(6)	Elizabeth Jean	Aug. 28, 1945, in Vicksburg
H 186(6)	James Walter	Mar. 5, 1951, in Jackson

H 116(5) SAMUEL MELVIN WHITE on July 10, 1948 at Utica married Mildred Lillian Hubbard, dau. of Malcolm M. and Mildred (~~Lewis~~ Sutton) Hubbard. She was born in Utica, Jan. 31, 1928. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Air Force. Graduating from Hinds Junior College, Agriculture Education, January, 1949, he entered Mississippi State College; B.S., January, 1951. He is Vocational Agricultural instructor at the Vocational High School, Shelby, Miss.

Children: 3, born in Vicksburg:

		Born
H 187(6)	Mildred Lillian	Oct. 7, 1951
H 188(6)	Samuel Malcolm	Jul. 16, 1954
H 189(6)	George Jefferson	Sept. 17, 1956

H 122(6) MARTHA ANN HUTCHINS on June 9, 1950 was married in Jackson to James Holman, son of James Edward and Alice Elizabeth Holman. He was born Oct. 29, 1928 in Cleveland.

Children: 1, surname HOLMAN:

H 190(7) –

H 128(6) CHARLES JEFFERSON GROVES on Jan. 16, 1944 in Ridgeland, Jasper Co., S. C. married Edna Louise Young, who was born in Muscadine, Cleburne Co., Ala. He served in the Merchant Marine, on the U. S. hospital ship SHAMROCK, in the Atlantic. During World War II he was a First Mate, sailing in Far

Eastern waters. Discharged in 1951, he studied electrical engineering in Wichita, Kans. He is now a Captain in the Merchant Marine, out of Mobile, Ala.

Children: 3, born in Cedartown, Ga.:

		Born	*Died*
H 191(7)	William Anthony	Sept. 26, 1950	
H 192(7)	Ronald Clay	Apr. 12, 1952	Apr. 17, 1952
H 193(7)	Donald Charles (twin)	Apr. 12, 1952	Apr. 18, 1952

These twins are buried in Lebanon cemetery, Muscadine, Ala.

H 129(6) WILLIAM MORGAN GROVES on Feb. 2, 1957 in Cedartown, Ga., married Betty Sue Foster, dau. of James Edward and Lillie Bertha (Pittman) Foster. She was born Apr. 20, 1936 in Cedartown, Ga. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army in Germany. Res., Huntsville, Ala.

H 135(6) WILLIAM GOEBEL MIZE, Jr., on Jan. 31, 1947 in Greenwood married Inda Doyle Hobbs, dau. of Allen Melton and Inda Doyle (McLemore) Hobbs. She was born in Greenwood, Jan. 22, 1925. During War II he served in the U. S. Army. Captured by Germans in the Battle of the Bulge, he spent months as a prisoner of war. He graduated at the University of Mississippi, Business Administration, 1947. He lives in Greenwood; owns an insurance agency, and has served as City Commissioner.

Children: 4, born in Greenwood:

		Born	*Died*
H 194(7)	Wm. Goebel Mize, III	Oct. 31, 1949	
H 195(7)	Allen Hobbs	Jan. 11, 1951	
H 196(7)	Geren McLemore	May 4, 1952	Oct. 29, 1952
H 197(7)	Inda Doyle	Aug. 18, 1954	

H 137(6) BETTY JO RAY in 1956 in Memphis, Tenn., was married to Johnny Ray James, son of Clarence F. and Fannie Lorene (Brooks) James. He was born there, July 26, 1935. Res., Memphis, Tenn.

IV. The Descendants of George W. Fisher

G 3(2) GEORGE WASHINGTON FISHER on Mar. 25, 1847 married (1st) Louisa Deliah Clarke, dau. of William and Thena Ann (Phillips) Clarke, who was born Aug. 13, 1827 in Claiborne Co., and died there Dec. 12, 1849. The wedding took place at "Mt. Serratt," Claiborne Co.

Children: 2 by 1st wife, born at "Mt. Serratt":

				Born	*Died*
*	G	4(3)	William Davis	Apr. 8, 1848	May 1, 1908
*	G	5(3)	Louis Clarke	Aug. 22, 1849	June 22, 1936

On July 2, 1854, at a point across the Big Black River from the home of Joseph Regan, in Claiborne Co., George W. Fisher married (2nd) Jeannie E. Smith, dau. of Joseph Ebenezer and Jane (Davis) Smith of Conn. Her father was the son of Ebenezer Smith (1761-1844) who was born in Ridgefield, Conn., died in Geneva, N.Y. Jeannie E. Smith was born Mar. 15, 1830 in Elmira, N. Y. and died Sept. 17, 1901 in Cayuga, Hinds Co. (Marriage records, Warren Co., Book G, page 272, and family Bible of George W. Fisher, now owned by Blanche (Fisher) Yates, Cayuga).

In 1854 George W. Fisher moved from Claiborne Co. to Cayuga. He early adopted the middle name, in order to distinguish his own records from those of his father; he was known as George W. Fisher.

Children: 10 by 2nd wife, all born at Cayuga, Hinds Co.:

				Born	*Died*
*	G	6(3)	Percy Caston	July 28, 1856	June 20, 1920
	G	7(3)	George Pynchon	Mar. 28, 1858	Feb. 19, 1925
	G	8(3)	Harpin Davis	Apr. 18, 1860	Mar. 1, 1923
*	G	9(3)	Genevieve	Dec. 9, 1861	Apr. 21, 1899
	G	10(3)	Madeleine	Sept. 13, 1863	Mar. 15, 1892
	G	11(3)	Lyman Legrand	Feb. 17, 1866	Aug. 20, 1895
	G	12(3)	Pearl Rosalie	Feb. 26, 1868	Aug. 25, 1953
*	G	13(3)	Ione Frederica	Jul. 29, 1870	June 21, 1952
	G	14(3)	Guy	Mar. 22, 1872	Sept. 29, 1873
*	G	15(3)	Blanche	Sept. 13, 1874	

G 7(3) GEORGE PYNCHON FISHER attended Mississippi College, Clinton. He was a merchant in Cayuga for many years; he was unmarried.

G 8(3) HARPIN DAVIS FISHER also attended Mississippi College; a planter in Cayuga; unmarried.

G 10(3) MADELEINE FISHER graduated from Nazareth Academy, Bardstown, Ky. She died "at the Convent of Mercy in Vicksburg in Vicksburg, Mississippi, she being at the time a Sister of Mercy. Her name in religion was Sister Mary Regina." (Rec. in George W. Fisher family Bible).

G 12(3) PEARL ROSALIE FISHER also attended Nazareth Academy, Bardstown, Ky. She lived in Cayuga until her death; unmarried.

G 4(3) WILLIAM DAVIS FISHER on Jan. 5, 1871 at Auburn, Hinds Co., married (1st) Rebecca Jane Anderson, dau. of David and Jane (Sansing) Anderson. She was born Feb. 24, 1847 in Oglethorpe Co., Georgia and died Jan. 2, 1887 at Cayuga, Hinds Co.

Children: 8 by 1st wife, born at Cayuga:

				Born	*Died*
*	G	16(4)	George W. Louis	Dec. 9, 1871	Dec. 15, 1937
*	G	17(4)	Ernest Anderson	Jul. 19, 1873	Jan. 9, 1933
	G	18(4)	Florence Louisa	Aug. 22, 1876	Feb. 14, 1887
*	G	19(4)	Mary	May 5, 1878	Dec. 8, 1952
*	G	20(4)	Ethel Delia	Sept. 19, 1880	Nov. 25, 1925
*	G	21(4)	Alma	Jan. 28, 1883	May 28, 1911
*	G	22(4)	Alice Rebecca	Dec. 26, 1886	

He married (2nd) Artie J. Holderman, Nov. 6, 1889.

Children: 4 by 2nd wife, born at Learned:

				Born	*Died*
*	G	23(4)	Harpin LeGrande	Apr. 28, 1893	Aug. 1, 1925
	G	24(4)	Curtis Wimberly	Jul. 11, 1897	
*	G	25(4)	Emery Franklin	Dec. 6, 1899	
			Infant son	1902	d.y.

William Davis Fisher was educated at Union Academy in Claiborne Co. He was a planter, living near Learned, Hinds Co. About 1906 he moved to San Antonio, Tex., where he died from the effects of a squirrel bite.

G 24(4) CURTIS WIMBERLY FISHER, is a planter and cattle raiser, living at Learned. Unmarried.

G 5(3) LOUIS CLARKE FISHER on June 4, 1874 married Mary B. Shaifer, dau. of George Wilson Humphrey and Charlotte (Clarke) Shaifer. She was born in Claiborne Co., Oct. 17, 1856, and died Jan. 1, 1930. The wedding ceremony, performed by the Rev. J. A. B. Jones of Port Gibson, took place at "Hazelwood," the residence of her grandfather, Charles B. Clarke, in Claiborne Co.

"Lou" Fisher was educated at Union Academy in Claiborne Co. During the Civil War he was a member of Co. C. 24th Btn., Miss. Cavalry, C.S.A. Later he became a merchant and owner of considerable property in the vicinity of Cayuga, in Hinds Co. His was the first steam cotton gin to be set up in that district. In 1876-78 he served as a representative in the Mississippi Legislature, during that most critical stage in the history of the state, and for some fifty years he was a Justice of the Peace, and a County Supervisor. In 1896 he attended the reunion of Confederate Veterans in Dallas, Tex.; thereafter he missed none until the 1920's. He and his wife are buried in the Cayuga cemetery.

Children: 7, born at "Twin Oaks Farm," near Cayuga:

				Born	*Died*
*	G	26(4)	Mabella	Aug. 10, 1876	Feb. 21, 1944
*	G	27(4)	Louis Charles	Sept. 17, 1879	Feb. 15, 1958
*	G	28(4)	Genevieve	Feb. 10, 1881	
	G	29(4)	Earle	Feb. 9, 1883	Aug. 8, 1885
	G	30(4)	George Washington	Apr. 15, 1885	Dec. 16, 1887
	G	31(4)	Adele	Apr. 11, 1887	Dec. 20, 1958
*	G	32(4)	George Kellar	Jul. 4, 1889	

G 31(4) ADELE FISHER was unmarried, and lived in Jackson. She died from the effects of burns received when her clothing caught on fire.

G 6(3) PERCY CASTON FISHER on Dec. 28, 1886 in Jacksonville, Fla., married Mattie Clopton, who was born in Alabama on Mar. 13, 1861, and died in Wichita, Kan., on Apr. 13, 1921. He graduated from Mississippi College, Clinton, and studied law in Jackson; he practiced law in Miss., in Fla., and in Ark. He lived for some years in Fort Smith, Ark., before his death there.

Children: 3, born in Green Cove Springs, Fla.:

			Born	*Died*
	G 33(4)	Agnes Alberta	Oct. 31, 1887	d.y.
	G 34(4)	Blanche Genevieve	Nov. 2, 1888	Sept. 9, 1958
*	G 35(4)	George Guy	Aug. 5, 1892	Apr. 28, 1951

G 34(4) BLANCHE GENEVIEVE FISHER did County Demonstration work in Arkansas. She ran a tea room in Long Beach, Calif., in 1930-33; then she became Supervisor of the State School for Girls, Ventura, Calif. She died at Camarillo, Calif.

G 9(4) GENEVIEVE FISHER on Jan. 10, 1890 was married at Cayuga to Charles Johnson Mallette, son of William Edward and Eliza (Johnson) Mattette. He was born Mar. 17, 1861 in Cayuga and died Mar. 15, 1944 in New Orleans, La.; he was a planter. She graduated with honors from Nazareth Academy in Bardstown, Ky., in 1882. She died at Hollandale, Miss.

Children: 4, surname MALLETTE, first two born at Edwards, last two born at Hollandale:

			Born	*Died*
*	G 36(4)	Lawrence Edward	Aug. 21, 1891	
	G 37(4)	Karl	1893	1898
	G 38(4)	Earl B.	1895	
*	G 39(4)	Eric Marvin	Jul. 17, 1897	

G 13(3) IONE FREDERICA FISHER on June 6, 1894 at Cayuga was married to William Ellison Parmenter, Jr., of Orange Park, Fla., son of William Ellison and Helen (James) Parmenter of Arlington, Mass., a suburb of Boston. He was born Feb. 7, 1855 in Arlington; in 1877 he took an A.B. degree at Harvard University. He died in St. Luke's hospital, Jacksonville, Fla. after

having lived for fifty years in nearby Orange Park. He had met Ione F. Fisher in Green Cove Springs, Fla., when she and her sister Blanche had there visited their brother Percy Caston Fisher. She lived in Orange Park until 1948 when she and her daughter Mary moved to Tallahassee, Fla. She died in Tallahassee, and is buried in Orange Park.

Children: 3, surname, PARMENTER, first born in Green Cove Springs, other two in Orange Park:

			Born	*Died*
G	40(4)	Mary Fisher	Dec. 7, 1895	
G	41(4)	Helen Fisher	May 2, 1902	Sept. 1, 1903
* G	42(4)	William George	Dec. 20, 1904	

G 40(4) MARY FISHER PARMENTER took an A.B. degree at Goucher College, Baltimore, Md., in 1921; member of Phi Beta Kappa. She taught English and Mathematics in the Girls High School, in Atlanta, Ga., then took an M.A. degree at Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, in 1930, and a Ph. D. there in 1933. She taught English at Hollins College, near Roanoke, Va., until 1942; from 1947 to 1954 she was an Associate Professor of English and Humanities at Florida State University, Tallahassee. She is unmarried, and lives in Tallahassee. 1415 Broome St.

G 15(3) BLANCHE FISHER on Apr. 30, 1896 at Cayuga was married to Percy Jerome Yates, son of Jerome and Emma (Skates) Yates. He was born at Cayuga, Feb. 10, 1873. Jerome Yates was the son of Ignatius and Obedience (Arthur) Yates, who came to Mississippi Territory from South Carolina in 1812 and entered land from the Government. Percy J. Yates is a retired planter and cattle raiser at Cayuga. She is a member of the Ralph Humphreys Chapter of the D. A. R. in Jackson, Miss. (Natl. No. 240261).

Children: 5, surname YATES, born at Cayuga:

			Born	*Died*
G	43(4)	Percy Jerome, Jr.	Jul. 5, 1898	May 2, 1900
* G	44(4)	Frederick LeGrand	Sept. 19, 1902	
* G	45(4)	Joseph George	Sept. 28, 1904	
G	46(4)	Jane Louise	Feb. 4, 1907	May 13, 1948
G	47(4)	Dorothy	Jul. 28, 1909	

G 46(4) LOUISE YATES graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1929, and later from Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green, Ky. She taught school in Florida, and was associated with Pan American Airways in Miami, Fla., and with the Shell Oil Co. in San Francisco. She was with the U. S. Federal Service in New Orleans at the time of her death there.

G 47(4) DOROTHY YATES attended the University of Mississippi and Bowling Green College of Commerce. She became a career employee in the U. S. Federal Service, having held positions continuously since January, 1940. She was with the TVA in Norris, Tenn.; the office of Price Administration, Miami, Fla.; U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Albany, Calif.; Civil Aeronautics Administration, New Orleans; and is at present a Foreign Trade Specialist in the U. S. Dept. of Commerce, New Orleans. She is unmarried, and lives in New Orleans.

G 16(4) GEORGE WILLIAM LOUIS FISHER about 1898 married Mollie Carmichael of Utica, who died about 1940. He died in Dec., 1937 at Utica, from a heart attack brought on by the news of the sinking of the U. S. S. Panay, and the (false) report of the death of his half-brother Emery Franklin Fisher upon her.

G 17(4) ERNEST ANDERSON FISHER on Dec. 22, 1896 at Edwards married Ada Tatom, dau. of Warren and Ophelia (Carnes) Tatom. She was born July 2, 1872 at Raymond. He was a cotton planter. They died in Forrest City, Ark.

Children: 5:

				Born	*Died*
	G	48(5)	Florence	1897 at Edwards	d.y.
	G	49(5)	Ophelia	1903 at Crystal Spgs.	
*	G	50(5)	Minyon	1905 at Crystal Spgs.	Nov. 19, 1936
*	G	51(5)	Ernest Anderson, Jr.	1908 at Waverly, La.	
	G	52(5)	Tatom	1910 at Philips	1930

G 49(5) OPHELIA FISHER teaches at the Arkansas State Teachers College, in Conway, Ark. Unmarried.
G 52(5) TATOM FISHER died by drowning, in Forrest City, Ark. Unmarried.

G 19(4) MARY FISHER on June 12, 1900 was married to John Morrison Bush, who was born June 9, 1878 at Learned, and died March 24, 1955. He was a cotton planter and stock raiser. They lived near Learned; both are buried there in the Morrison cemetery. She graduated from Belhaven College, Jackson.

G 20(4) ETHEL DELIA FISHER on July 26, 1903 at Learned was married to Warren Wiley East, son of John Robert and Margaret (Rogers) East. He was born Mar. 24, 1880 at Port Gibson, and died Nov. 29, 1936 at Meridian. He was a Supervisor for the Illinois Central Railroad. She died at Newton, Miss.

Children: 7, surname EAST:

			Born	
*	G 53(5) Ethel Warrene	May 15, 1904,		at Edwards
*	G 54(5) William Wiley	Oct. 25, 1905		at Edwards
*	G 55(5) Alton Rogers	June 8, 1908		at Vicksburg
*	G 56(5) George Herman	Aug. 15, 1909		at Newton
*	G 57(5) John Fisher	Jun. 26, 1911		at Newton
*	G 58(5) Carrie Mae	Nov. 18, 1912		at Newton

G 21(4) ALMA FISHER on June 28, 1903 at the family residence near Learned was married to Thomas Carey Blocksom, son of Philip and Mary D. (Weeks) Blocksom. He was born May 4, 1875 at Barlow, Copiah Co., near Hermanville, and died there July 4, 1949; a farmer. She died at Learned, after the birth of a son who also died, and her two daughters were cared for by her sister Mary (Fisher) Bush.

Children: 5, surname BLOCKSOM:

			Born	*Died*
	G 59(5) Thomas Carey, Jr.			d.y.
	G 60(5) Alma Lee	Jan. 29, 1906		
*	G 61(5) Audrey Lucille	Nov. 7, 1907		
*	G 62(5) Thomas Carey, Jr.	Nov. 11, 1909		
	G 63(5) William Davis	May 27, 1911		d.y.

G 60(5) ALMA LEE BLOCKSOM is unmarried, and lives at Learned.

G 22(4) ALICE REBECCA FISHER on Nov. 18, 1906 at Cayuga was married to William Alfred O'Neal, who was born at Wisdom, Harrison Co., and died Sept. 2, 1913, in Jackson. She taught school 1914-1950; now retired, she lives in Rolling Fork.

Children: 1, surname O'NEAL, born at Wiggins (formerly Wisdom):

* G 64(5) John Lucien Born May 15, 1909

G 23(4) HARPIN LEGRANDE FISHER on Oct. 11, 1916, in Memphis, Tenn., married Bertie Findley, dau. of James Joseph and Bertie May Findley. She was born Oct. 10, 1896 at Sommerville, Tenn. He died in Memphis.

Children: 4, first born in Pine Bluff, Ark., last three in Caruthersville, Mo.:

			Born	*Died*
	G 65(5)	Harold LeGrande	June 29, 1917	Mar. 8, 1945
*	G 66(5)	Mary Artie	Apr. 26, 1920	
*	G 67(5)	Wiliam David	Aug. 22, 1921	
	G 68(5)	John Curtis	Jan. 19, 1923	Jan. 29, 1943

G 65(5) HAROLD LEGRANDE FISHER during World War II served in the U. S. Army Air Force, going in January, 1945 to Guam, where he died in an Army Hospital from non-military causes. In June 1948 his body was brought back from Guam and was buried with full military honors in the National Cemetery, Memphis.

G 68(5) JOHN CURTIS FISHER during World War II served in the U. S. Navy with his brother William David Fisher in the Pacific Fleet, aboard the U. S. S. Chicago. He saw action in the Coral Sea, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Guadalcanal. At his battle station in the after-fire room of the U.S.S. *Chicago,* he went down with his ship when it was sunk by Japanese torpedo planes near Guadalcanal, Jan. 29, 1943. He was awarded the Purple Heart, posthumously.

G 25(5) EMERY FRANKLIN FISHER on July 19, 1939 married Mrs. Frances Clifton (Burnet) Lewis, dau. of Clifton Aren and Lula (Carmichael) Burnet, and widow of James Bennett Lewis. She was born June 27, 1907. After having served for twenty years in the U.S. Navy, he had retired; but in 1942 he was recalled, and he served throughout World War II. In 1937 he was thought to have been lost when the U.S.S. Panay was sunk in the Yangzte near Nanking, China; actually, he was on another ship nearby. Now retired, he lives near Utica.

Children: 1, born at Utica:

G 69(5) Linda Frances Born Dec. 21, 1941

G 26(4) MABELLA (or MAY BELLE) FISHER on June 30, 1915 at "Twin Oaks Farm," the residence of her father near Cayuga, was married to Henry Howard Welford of Jackson. She graduated at Belhaven College, Jackson, in 1895.

Children: 2, surname WELFORD, born in Moss Point:

		Born	*Died*
G 70(5)	Mary Frances	June 30, 1916	d.y.
* G 71(5)	Birdie Louise	Jan. 21, 1918	

G 27(4) LOUIS CHARLES FISHER on Aug. 22, 1919 in Jackson married (1st) Fannie Josephine Neal, dau. of William W. and Mary (McNeese) Neal. She was born Sept. 13, 1899 at Cayuga, and died Feb. 2, 1929 at Cherry Valley, Ark., where he lived for several years. On Dec. 24, 1934 at Cherry Valley he married (2nd) Mrs. Minnie (Word) Sisk, who was born in Kentucky, Oct. 23, 1887. They returned to Cayuga, where he owned property, and where his widow now lives. He was a Charter member of the S.A.R. in Mississippi (Natl. No. 21243, Miss. 18).

Children: 2, by 1st wife: first born near Whitehall, Ark., second born near Cherry Valley, Ark.:

		Born	*Died*
* G 72(5)	Charles Andrew	Oct. 4, 1920	Jan. 14, 1943
* G 73(5)	Mary Frances	Dec. 8, 1922	

G 28(4) GENEVIEVE FISHER was married (1st) to James Emmett Calvin, who was born Sept. 8, 1873, and who was drowned at Gulfport. She was married (2nd) to Kenneth Beaton

of New Orleans, who was born in Scotland, Nov. 11, 1870, son of James and Mary (McPherson) Beaton; deceased. She lived for many years in Denver, Colo., and now lives in Houston, Tex.

Children: 1, surname CALVIN, born in New Orleans:

* G 74(5) Jack Earl Aug. 28, 1906

G 32(4) GEORGE KELLAR FISHER on Aug. 25, 1920 at Coushatta, La., married (1st) Mrs. Grace (Puckett) Adley, who was born Feb. 7, 1900 at East Point, near Coushatta, and who died Oct. 10, 1923 at Natchitoches, La. In World War I he served in the U.S. Army, with the rank of 1st Lt. For many years he was in the oil business in Louisiana. He married (2nd) in Irvington, Ill., Mrs. Mary (Bay) Johnson.

G 35(4) GEORGE GUY FISHER on May 22, 1922 in Kansas City, Mo., married Helen Gray, dau. of Leon E. and Nellie L. (Purcell) Gray. She was born in Erie Co., Penna., on Jan. 17, 1900. They lived in Beverly Hills, Calif., where he was prominent in the insurance business. He died there, Apr. 28, 1951.

Children: 1, born in Los Angeles, Calif.:

George Warren, adopted Born, Mar. 4, 1931

GEORGE WARREN FISHER on July 8, 1952, in Valdosta, Ga., married Betty Jean Wilkerson, dau. of W. A. Wilkerson of Valdosta. She was born Jan. 1, 1932 in Quitman, Ga.

Children: 3, born in Los Angeles, Calif.:

	Born
Rebecca Lynn	Aug. 8, 1953
Georganne	Dec. 20, 1954
Catherine Louise	May 15, 1958

G 36(4) LAWRENCE EDWARD MALLETTE on June 8, 1915 in Jackson married Mary Katherine Farrell, dau. of Thomas and Helen (Rocco) Farrell. She was born Oct. 3, 1893 in Yazoo City. He is in the wholesale meat business in Greenwood. He is a member of the Greenwood Chapter of the S.A.R. (Natl. No. 72895, State No. 196); of the Soc. of Colonial Wars (Natl. No. 12082, Mass. State No. 1283); of the Order of Americans of Armo-

rial Ancestry (No. 229); and of the Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia. Res., Greenwood, Miss.

Children: 4, born in Yazoo City, Miss.:

			Born
*	G 75(5)	Lawrence Thomas	Aug. 6, 1916
	G 76(5)	Charles Earl	Apr. 15, 1920
*	G 77(5)	William Rocco	Sept. 23, 1921
*	G 78(5)	Thomas John	Dec. 6, 1928

G 76(5) CHARLES EARL MALLETTE during World War II served in the U.S. Air Corps as an instructor in Link Trainer Schools in Ill., in Wisc., and in Tex. He attended Tulane University; is a member of the S.A.R. He is associated with his father in the meat business in Greenwood.

G 39(4) ERIC MARVIN MALLETTE married in New Orleans, La., Florence Olivia (Demarest) Boutrie, dau. of Ernest and Olivia (Gasia) Boutrie, and widow of Sidney Boutrie. She was born Dec. 23, 1889 in Berwick, La. She had one daughter, Aline Selma Boutrie, born Jan. 29, 1909, who on July 27, 1932 was married to Jake Calamia of New Orleans.

G 42(4) WILLIAM GEORGE PARMENTER on May 10, 1939 in Valdosta, Ga., married Elizabeth Broun Hutchinson, dau. of Thomas Monroe and Emma Virginia (Broun) Hutchinson. She was born Nov. 18, 1915 in Monticello, Ga. She received an A.B. degree at Georgia State Woman's College, Valdosta, in 1936. He is an electrical engineer; he took a B.S.E.E. degree in 1925 and an E.E. degree in 1930 at the University of Florida, Gainesville. During World War II he served as Capt. in the U. S. Army Signal Corps at Ft. Monmouth, N.J. They live in Atlanta, Ga., where he is a supervisor with the Georgia Power Co.

Children: 4, born in Valdosta, Ga.:

			Born	*Died*
G	79(5)	William Thomas	Aug. 4, 1940	
G	80(5)	James Hutchinson	Oct. 8, 1946	
G	81(5)	David Fisher	May 29, 1948	
G	82(5)	Elizabeth Broun	Aug. 23, 1952	Aug. 26, 1952

G 44(4) FREDERICK LEGRAND YATES on Oct. 31, 1925 at Utica married Willena Bailey, dau. of Charles Thomas Whitfield and Willena Randolph (Caheen) Bailey. She was born Oct. 19, 1907 in Dallas, Tex. They live in Cayuga, Hinds Co., where he is a merchant and planter; his store occupies the approximate site of that kept by his grandfather, George W. Fisher, near the Natchez Trace.

Children: 5, born in Cayuga:

			Born
*	G 83(5)	Mary Jane	Sept. 1, 1926
*	G 84(5)	Frances Elaine	Jan. 1, 1928
*	G 85(5)	Helen Fisher	Apr. 11, 1930
*	G 86(5)	Frederick LeGrand, Jr.	June 15, 1934
*	G 87(5)	Charles Jerome (twin)	June 15, 1934

G 45(4) JOSEPH GEORGE YATES in October, 1933 in Louisville, Ky., married Julia Hurst, who was born Jan. 27, 1898 in Bards Co., Ky. He was with the U. S. Government in the Alcoholic Tax Division of the Treasury Dept. in several states. Now retired; res., Gulfport.

G 50(5) MINYON FISHER in 1923 was married in Forrest City, Ark., to Chester Henry Houston, who was born in 1901 in Widener, Ark. She died in West Memphis, Ark.

Children: 2, surname HOUSTON: first born in Forrest City, Ark., second in West Memphis, Tenn.

			Born
*	G 88(6)	Marilyn	June 10, 1925
*	G 89(6)	Chester Elliott	Aug. 21, 1927

G 51(5) ERNEST ANDERSON FISHER, Jr., married Mary Elizabeth McCorkle, dau. of Walter Frazier and Jessie Cora (Mayfield) McCorkle. She was born Dec. 29, 1908 in Lake Village, Ark. He is an engineer with the U.S. Government, and lives in Riverside, N. Dak.

Children: 2, first born in Little Rock, Ark., second in Coffeyville, Kans.

		Born
G 90(6)	Elizabeth Jean	Oct. 7, 1940
G 91(6)	Tatum	Sept. 27, 1944

G 53(5) ETHEL WARRENE EAST on Aug. 10, 1922 at Newton was married to the Rev. Andrew Thomas Mitchell, son of John Franklin and Mollie (Holland) Mitchell. He was born March 18, 1895 at Dancy. He has held pastorates in the Southern Baptist Church in Mississippi and Louisiana, and in 1940 organized the Ridge Avenue Baptist Church in West Monroe, La., where he is pastor.

Children: 1, surname MITCHELL, born at Newton, Miss.:

* G 92(6) Thomas Warren June 25, 1923

G 54(5) WILLIAM WILEY EAST on Dec. 16, 1933 in Meridian, married Zexa Mae Phillips, dau. of Edward Phillips. She was born Sept. 3, 1912 at Little Rock, Newton Co., Miss. He is a building contractor in Meridian.

Children: 2, born in Meridian:

		Born
G 93(6)	Sara Ann	Feb. 4, 1937
G 94(6)	William Wiley, Jr.	Sept. 1, 1942

G 55(5) ALTON ROGERS EAST on Feb. 16, 1946 in West Monroe, La., married Christine G. Anderson, who was born Sept. 16, 1905. During World War II he served overseas in the U.S. Army in Normandy and Northern France. Res., Indianola.

G 56(5) GEORGE HERMAN EAST on Dec. 23, 1933 in Laurel married Margaret Elizabeth Miller, dau. of Jasper Hugh and Pearl (Platt) Miller. She was born Dec. 22, 1911. He is Chief Auditor for the Mississippi Power Co., at Laurel, Miss.

Children: 1, born in Laurel:

G 95(6) George Herman East, Jr. Feb. 15, 1938

G 57(5) JOHN FISHER EAST on Nov. 22, 1936 in Meridian, married Billie Luke, dau. of John Bee and Willie (Seals) Luke. She was born in Preston. He is associated with his brother William Wiley East in the building contracting business in Meridan.

Children: 2, born in Meridian:

		Born
G 96(6)	John Warren	Feb. 19, 1938
G 97(6)	William Jefferson	Jan. 22, 1942

G 58(5) CARRIE MAE EAST on Mar. 26, 1932 at Newton was married to Otho Edward James, son of Otho Edward and Bertha (Hickman) James. He was born Sept. 21, 1910 at Montrose. He is a radio engineer, living in Miami, Fla.

Children: 3, surname JAMES:

		Born
G 98(6)	Otho Edward, III	May 5, 1937
G 99(6)	James Alton	Feb. 2, 1948
G 100(6)	Gerald Warren	May 4, 1950

G 61(5) AUDREY LUCILLE BLOCKSOM on Dec. 19, 1937 at Learned was married to Thomas Joyce Kinzer, Jr., son of Thomas Joyce and Lida (Haley) Kinzer. He was born Jan. 28, 1914 in Hinds Co. In 1937 he received an A.B. degree at the University of Mississippi; later, an M.A. They live in Vicksburg, where he works with the U.S. Government Waterways Experiment Station.

Children: 1, surname KINZER, born in Vicksburg:

G 101(6)	Thomas Joyce, III	Oct. 2, 1940

G 62(5) THOMAS CAREY BLOCKSOM, Jr. on July 26, 1942 at Mena, Ark., married Elsie Jean Harrison, dau. of Hugh Worth and Cecilia Rosamond (Rowett) Harrison. She was born in Webb City, Mo. He is Manager of the Arkansas Employment Security Division, at Pine Bluff, Ark.

Children: 2, born in Little Rock, Ark., both adopted:

	Born
Jean Elizabeth	Mar. 15, 1946
Melissa Ann	Dec. 9, 1948

G 64(5) JOHN LUCIEN O'NEAL on May 8, 1934 in Rolling Fork married Mary Emma Hackler, dau. of William Preston and Susie (Carlisle) Hackler. She was born Dec. 21, 1915 in Hinds Co. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army in England and Ireland. They live at Batesville, where he is a highway and bridge contractor.

G 66(5) MARY ARTIE FISHER on May 2, 1941 in Hernando was married to John Milton Dowdie, who was born Nov. 30, 1917 in Memphis, Tenn. Res., Memphis.

Children: 4, surname DOWDIE, born in Memphis:

		Born
G 102(6)	Carolyn Sue	May 23, 1943
G 103(6)	John Milton, Jr.	Jan. 2, 1947
G 104(6)	David Fisher	Nov. 10, 1953
G 105(6)	Steven Eugene	Nov. 8, 1957

G 67(5) WILLIAM DAVID FISHER on Nov. 22, 1945 in Franklin, Ky., married Frances Marie Dorris, dau. of John Blanton and Selma (Templeton) Dorris. She was born Apr. 26, 1926 in Westmoreland, Tenn. During World War II (1940-45) he served in the U. S. Navy with the Third and Fifth Fleets, and with Vice Adm. Mitchener's Carrier Task Force. An anti-aircraft gunner, he was aboard the U.S.S. *Chicago* and the U.S.S. *Oakland,* seeing enemy action in more than fifteen engagements, including the Coral Sea, Guadalcanal, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, and the Sea of Japan. He was with his brother, John Curtis Fisher, aboard the *Chicago* when it was sunk on Jan. 29, 1943, but survived. After his discharge, he reenlisted in the Organized Naval Reserve in 1946; recalled to active duty in 1950. Res., Westmoreland, Tenn.

Children: 3:

		Born
G 106(6)	William David, Jr.	Mar. 19, 1947, in Memphis
G 107(6)	John Harold	June 18, 1952, in Westmoreland
G 108(6)	Beverly Delores	July 27, 1955, in Westmoreland

G 71(5) BIRDIE LOUISE WELFORD on June 28, 1952 in Jackson was married to Benny Leo Ray. He was born Dec. 7, 1917 in Attala Co., the son of Uriah and Esther Woods Ray. He is a member of Shriners, of Knights Templars, and of various civic organizations in Jackson.

G 72(5) CHARLES ANDREW FISHER married Dorothy Jenkins, Apr. 1, 1939. He died as the result of a railroad accident. His widow married (2nd) Hubert Carraway, and lives at Carpenter.

Children: 1, born in Jackson:

G 109(6)	Charles Brian	Nov. 28, 1942

G 73(5) MARY FRANCES FISHER on Aug. 21, 1938 at Brandon, was married to Lloyd Cline Willoughby, son of Alcus Milton and Gertrude (Russell) Willoughby. He was born June 13, 1919 at Monticello. Res., Pascagoula.

Children: 4, surname WILLOUGHBY, born in Jackson:

		Born
G 110(6)	Linda Gail	Oct. 12, 1946
G 111(6)	Stephen Wayne	June 7, 1948
G 112(6)	Charles Lloyd	Sept. 8, 1950
G 113(6)	Gertrude Adele	Nov. 1, 1951

G 74(5) JACK EARL CALVIN on Feb. 23, 1932 in Boulder, Colo., married Genevieve Ellen Walsh, who was born Nov. 5, 1909. Res., Houston, Tex. Manager, Houston Post.

Children: 1, born in Boulder, Colo.:

G 114(6)	Jack Walsh	Aug. 17, 1933

G 75(5) LAWRENCE THOMAS MALLETTE on Apr. 14, 1941 in Nashville, Tenn., married Frances Lou McSwain, dau. of John Pinckney and Mary (Willis) McSwain. She was born Aug. 3, 1920 in Flint, Mich. He graduated with honors from Mississippi State College, B.S. in Chemical Engineering, in 1939; and is Specification Engineer for the Firestone Rubber plant in Memphis, Tenn. He is a member of the S.A.R. (Nat'l. No. 73841, Miss. State No. 217). Res., Memphis.

Children: 3

		Born
G 115(6)	Lawrence	Jan. 9, 1942, in Pittsburgh, Pa.
G 116(6)	Mary Louellyn	Nov. 9, 1946, in Memphis, Tenn.
G 117(6)	Beverly Sue	Nov. 20, 1949, in Memphis, Tenn.

G 77(5) WILLIAM ROCCO MALLETTE on Nov. 7, 1945 in the Catholic Church in Greenwood married Doris Rita Chassaniol, dau. of Herbert Spencer and Celina (Demourelle) Chassaniol. She was born Sept. 21, 1921 in Greenwood. In World War II, as pilot of a bomber plane, in the U. S. Marine Corps, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, and the Air Medal, for heroism in aerial flights during operations against enemy Japanese forces in the Bis-

marck Archipelago Area, in 1944 and 1945; is a Major in the active reserves, U.S.M.C.

He studied at Loyola University in New Orleans for one year; was associated with his father in the meat business in Greenwood. He is a member of the S.A.R. (Nat'l. No. 73830, Miss. State No. 206).

Children: 7, born in Greenwood:

		Born
G 118(6)	Doris Elaine	Dec. 25, 1946
G 119(6)	William Rocco	Oct. 16, 1949
G 120(6)	Mary Katherine (twin)	Oct. 16, 1949
G 121(6)	Michael Spencer	May 13, 1951
G 122(6)	Margaret	June 4, 1953
G 123(6)	Patricia (twin)	June 4, 1953
G 124(6)	Jayne Marie	June 28, 1958

G 78(5) THOMAS JOHN MALLETTE on Sept. 9, 1952 in the Catholic Church in Greenville married Catherine Gale Johnston, dau. of Amory Gale and Catherine Cordelia (Gormley) Johnston. She was born Aug. 19, 1930 in Williston, N. Dak., of New England ancestry. During World War II he served in the U. S. Navy. He received an LL.B. degree at the University of Mississippi, in Jan., 1953; was a member of Phi Delta Theta, of Omicron Delta Kappa (leadership honorary), and of Phi Alpha Delta (Law). He is a member of the S.A.R. (Natl. No. 73832, State No. 208). Res., Jackson, where he is in legal department of Lyle Cashion Oil Co.

Children: 4:

		Born
G 125(6)	Robert Amory	Aug. 17, 1953, in Greenville
G 126(6)	John Charles	Sept. 16, 1954, in Jackson
G 127(6)	Caroline Gale	Apr. 26, 1956, in Jackson
G 128(6)	James Thomas	Oct. 31, 1958, in Jackson

G 83(5) MARY JANE YATES on October 26, 1945 at Cayuga, Hinds Co., was married to William Earle Cain, son of Thomas E. and Julia Margaret (Hutchins) Cain. He was born Nov. 14, 1924 at Utica. During World War II he served in the Merchant Marine. He is a building contractor and they live at Cayuga.

Children: 4, surname CAIN, born in hospital at Vicksburg:

		Born
G 129(6)	Robert Anthony	Oct. 1, 1946
G 130(6)	Susan	Nov. 23, 1949
G 131(6)	Barbara Lynn	Oct. 16, 1953
G 132(6)	William Michael	June 29, 1957

G 84(5) FRANCES ELAINE YATES on Oct. 7, 1955 at Cayuga, was married to Fred John Oleis, son of F. F. Oleis and Anna (Tworak) Oleis. He was born Oct. 6, 1928 in Auburn, Me. During the Korean War he served with the 187th Airborne Regimental combat team. Res., Cayuga.

Children: 1, surname OLEIS, born in Vicksburg:

G 133(6)	John Yates	Oct. 18, 1957

G 85(5) HELEN FISHER YATES in July, 1951 in Vicksburg, was married to Colbert Don Price, son of S. Colbert and Naomi (Jackson) Price. He was born Dec. 9, 1931 in Utica. He is employed in the U. S. Government Laboratory in Vicksburg, and they live at Cayuga.

Children: 1, surname PRICE, born in Vicksburg:

G 134(6)	Richard Donald	Oct. 26, 1954

G 86(5) FREDERICK LEGRAND YATES, Jr. on Jan. 8, 1955 married June Ione Morrison, dau. of Emery and Irene (Mathews) Morrison. She was born Jan. 3, 1935 in Utica.

Children: 2, born in Vicksburg:

		Born
G 135(6)	Dale Clark	Sept. 29, 1955
G 136(6)	Lauren Ione	Aug. 1, 1958

G 87(5) CHARLES JEROME YATES on April 29, 1956 at Vicksburg, married Billie Lou Adams, dau. of William B. and Thelma (Nelson) Adams. She was born Dec. 7, 1934 in Vicksburg. Res., Utica.

G 88(6) MARILYN HOUSTON on July 17, 1947 in Baxter Springs, Kans., was married to Robert Dale Douthit, son of William

Burton and Estelle Rose (Overton) Douthit. He was born there on Sept. 15, 1922, and he there operates the Spencer Chemical Co.

Children: 2, surname DOUTHIT, born in Joplin, Mo.:

		Born
G 137(7)	Chester Dale	Feb. 3, 1949
G 138(7)	Rebecca Minyon	Nov. 20, 1951

G 89(6) CHESTER ELLIOTT HOUSTON married Clara Alice Bright, dau. of Lovell E. Bright and wife. She was born Nov. 25, 1929 in Lampson, Wisc. He is in the U. S. Navy.

Children: 2:

		Born
G 139(7)	Rebecca Minyon	Jan. 29, 1950, at Newport, R.I.
G 140(7)	Kathy Eulene	Sept. 11, 1952, at Portsmouth, Va.

G 92(6) THOMAS WARREN MITCHELL on Mar. 21, 1947 in West Monroe, La., married Elsie Coon, dau. of Madison Reagan and Lillie (Rainbolt) Coon. She was born there, Jan. 13, 1928. During World War II he served in the U. S. Army Air Corps, and was in Normandy, Northern France, Ardennes, the Rhineland, and Central Europe. He is a salesman for industrial and electrical supplies; res., West Monroe, La.

Children: 2, born in Monroe, La.:

		Born
G 141(7)	Thomas Reagan	May 8, 1950
G 142(7)	James Harold	Aug. 3, 1951

V. The Descendants of John Fisher

J 4(2) JOHN FISHER on June 5, 1861 married Lucy Ann McGuffee, dau. of Burwell Victor and Eliza (Cook) McGuffee. She was born in Cayuga, Hinds Co., and died in Memphis, Tenn., June 6, 1913. (John Fisher family Bible. Marriage records, Hinds Co.) He died Oct., 1877 and is buried in the McGuffee lot, in the cemetery in Utica.

In documents relating to the estate of Louisa Ann (Davis) Trimble-Couch, in Carroll Parish, La., of which he was administrator, he signed his name John V. Fisher. His descendants in

Memphis stated that the V. stood for Vesuvius. He was apparently known as John Fisher in Miss.

Children: 5, first four born in Claiborne Co., last born in Hinds Co.:

			Born	*Died*
	J 5(3)	Myrtle		d.y.
	J 6(3)	Myrtice		d.y.
*	J 7(3)	Lillie Maude	Jan. 22, 1867	Sept. 18, 1955
*	J 8(3)	Lucy Pearl	Mar. 10, 1874	
	J 9(3)	Herman	June 28, 1877	

J 7(3) LILLIE MAUDE FISHER on Apr. 24, 1889 in the Linden Ave. Christian Church in Memphis, Tenn., was married to William Newton Jenkins who was born Aug. 20, 1868 in Edwards, died Jan. 4, 1942 in Memphis. He was for forty years associated with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; deacon in Linden Ave. church; Mason, Shriner.

Children: 3, surname JENKINS:

			Born	*Died*
	J 10(4)	Margaret Maude	Nov. 20, 1890	Aug. 4, 1894, in Utica
*	J 11(4)	Wilma	Aug. 23, 1893	
*	J 12(4)	Ruth	Aug. 26, 1897	

J 8(3) LUCY PEARL FISHER on Dec. 10, 1896 in the Linden Ave. Christian Church in Memphis, Tenn., was married to William Groves Powell, who was born at Watson, near Byhalia, Miss., Sept. 20, 1865, and who died in Memphis, Aug. 27, 1934. He is buried in the old Emory Church cemetery near Byhalia.

Children: 4, surname POWELL, first three born in Memphis:

			Born
	J 13(4)	Ludye Pearl	Dec. 10, 1900
*	J 14(4)	William Groves, Jr.	Feb. 17, 1904
*	J 15(4)	Fisher Thomas	May 12, 1906
*	J 16(4)	John Braxton	Nov. 8, 1912, in Tipton Co., Tenn.

J 13(4) LUDYE PEARL POWELL, unm., is associated with Stapleton Linters, in Memphis.

J 11(4) WILMA JENKINS on Jan. 11, 1919 in the Court Ave., Presbyterian church in Memphis, Tenn., was married to Price S. Barnes, son of Edward G. and Martha Eudora (Morton) Barnes. He was born Aug. 23, 1889 in Murphreesboro, Tenn. Res., Memphis.

Children: 1, surname BARNES, born in Memphis, Tenn.:

J 17(5) Dorothy Ruth — Sept. 5, 1925

J 12(4) RUTH JENKINS on July 23, 1931 was married in the Linden Ave., Christian church in Memphis, Tenn., to John Patterson Winn, son of William Clayton and Missouri (Maddox) Winn. He was born June 4, 1896 in Marietta, Ga., and died Oct. 28, 1946 in Memphis; buried there in Forest Hill cemetery. During World War I he served in the A.E.F. Merchant; Chm. of Board of Deacons in Linden Ave. church; Mason, Shriner. She was educated in Memphis, and was a primary teacher in Peabody School there.

Children: 2, surname WINN, born in Memphis:

	Born
Betty Claire, adopted	July 19, 1938
Dorothy Deane, adopted	May 22, 1945

J 14(4) WILLIAM GROVES POWELL, JR., on Aug. 21, 1926 married in Calhoun City, Miss., Clara Langston, dau. of Hosea and Dora (Langston) Langston. She was born Apr. 9, 1907 in Derma, Miss. He enlisted Jan. 10, 1921 in the U. S. Army, attached to Co., C, 11th Inf.; received discharge Jan. 10, 1924. His discharge having been made out in the name of Grover Powell, he has since then used that name. He has been employed in the U. S. Post Offiice in Memphis for many years.

Children: 1, born in Memphis:

J 18(5) William Frank — Oct. 20, 1932

J 15(4) FISHER THOMAS POWELL married Rebecca Wright; divorced. He is a contractor, living in Memphis, Tenn.

Children: 1, born in Memphis:

J 19(5) Jerrod Lee — Sept. 20, 1929

J 16(4) JOHN BRAXTON POWELL on May 3, 1938 married Gwendolyn Meriwether, dau. of Edwin and Ruth Meriwether. She was born Aug. 7, 1918 in Paragould, Ark. He is connected with the Western Union Telegraph Co., Memphis.

Children: 2, born in Memphis:

		Born
J 20(5)	John Braxton, Jr.	Oct. 6, 1941
J 21(5)	Michael Meriwether	Jan. 10, 1945

J 17(5) DOROTHY RUTH BARNES on July 15, 1947 in the Linden Ave., Christian church in Memphis, was married to Walter Claiborne Yager, son of William Claiborne and Edna May (Nycum) Yager. He was born Sept. 22, 1922 in Waxahatchie, Tex. She was educated at the Univ. of Mississippi, and Southwestern Univ., in Memphis, and is a concert artist, having won the Young Artist recognition as a vocal soloist. He took a degree in Aeronautical Engineering at the Univ. of Texas. In World War II he served as an Ensign. They live in Memphis, and he is a deacon in the Linden Ave., church.

Children: 2, surname YAGER, born in Memphis:

		Born
J 22(6)	Walter Claiborne, Jr.	Aug. 11, 1950
J 23(6)	Catherine Barnes	Feb. 20, 1954

J 18(5) WILLIAM FRANK POWELL on Aug. 28, 1954 in the First Methodist church in Greenwood, Miss., married Margaret Joan Lee, dau. of Benjamin F. Lee. He served in the U. S. Marine Corps in Korea in 1951-52. Prior to his service he had graduated from Christian Brothers College, Memphis; afterwards, he majored in Geology at Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.

INDEX OF NAMES

We give no references to pages, but to the genealogical index numbers. The letter L refers to pages 200-221, H to pages 236-260, G to pages 261-279, J to pages 279-282. The system of numbering is explained on page 200.

Names of married women are given under both married name and maiden name.

A

ADAMS, Billie Lou; wife of Charles Jerome Yates, G 87(5)
Ida Ethlyn (Luster), H 37(4)
James Luster, H 103(5)
Linda Lee, H 172(6)
Mariane (Kissel); wife of Walter Bronson Adams, III, 102(5)
Melissa Kay, H 173(6)
Walter Bronson, III, H 102(5)

ADLEY, Grace (Puckett); 1st wife of George Kellar Fisher, G 32(4)

ALEXANDER, Marion; wife of George Alexander Everett, H 96(5)

ALLEN, Ruth Carmen; wife of Hugh Gayden Fisher, H 52(4)

ANDERSON, Christine G.; wife of Alton Rogers East, G 55(5)
Mary Elizabeth; wife of Hiram Fisher, H 2(2)
Rebecca Jane; 1st wife of William Davis Fisher, G 4(3)

ANDRUS, Lonnie Ray, L 136(6)
Mildred Hazel (Hamer), L 70(5)
Ronald Gilbert, L 135(6)

ARENDALE, Blackwell Sands, III, L 97(6)
Frances Cecil (Sydnes), L 46(5)
Stephen Sydnes, L 98(6)

ARMITAGE, Abbie Stark, H 29(4)
Alice (Fisher), H 7(3)
Alice Rosalie, H 26(4)
Arlene (Eakes); wife of Philip Haman Armitage, H 27(4)
Charles Hiram, H 20(4)
Doris Aden, H 77(5)
Douglas Martin, H 28(4)
Elizabeth Fisher, H 23(4)
Elsie Mae (Cunningham); wife of Robert Aden Armitage, H 24(4)
Ida Dolores, H 30(4)
Jeanne, H 79(5)
Ludye Rebecca, H 21(4)
Marie Louise, H 22(4)
Nonnie Geneva (Lofton), wife of William Dean Armitage, H 25(4)
Patricia, H 84(5)
Philip Haman, H 27(4)
Robbie May, H 77(5)
Robert Aden, H 24(4)
Treasure (Grafton); wife of Douglas Martin Armitage, H 28(4)
William Dean, H 25(4)

ASKEW, Alline (Luster) H 34(4)
Barbara Jo, H 169(6)
Florence Irene; wife of George Walter Luster, H 36(4)
Roma (Hubbard); wife of

Sydney Knox Askew, Jr., H 99(5)
Sydney Knox, Jr., H 99(5)
Sydney Knox, III, H 168(6)
Thomas Luster, H 100(5)

B

BAILEY, Willena; wife of Frederick LeGrand Yates, G 44(4)
BAINE, Dorothy; wife of Robert Kenneth Ray, H 64(5)
BARNES, Dorothy Ruth, J 17(5)
Wilma (Jenkins), J 11(4)
BARROW, Harold Gene, L 93(6)
Nellie Jacqueline (Sydnes) Thorne, L 43(5)
Shelby Jean (Norris); wife of Harold Gene Barrow, L 93(6)
BEARDEN, Gail, H 133 (6)
Kathlyn, H. 132(6)
Leola Marie (Hutchins), H 59(5)
Ralph B., Jr., H 134(6)
BEASLEY, Hattie; 1st wife of Charles Wellington Hanna, L 21(4)
BEATON, Genevieve (Fisher) Calvin, G 28(4)
BENNETT, Dana Armitage, H 153(6)
Doris Aden, H 78(5)
Robert Laster, Jr., H 152(6)
BLACK, Evalyn Cecile, L 188(7)
Joy Christina (Lee), L 106(6)
BLOCKSOM, Alma Lee, G 60(5)
Alma (Fisher), G 21(4)
Audrey Lucille, G 61(5)
Elsie Jean (Harrison), wife of Thomas Carey Blocksom, Jr., G 62(5)
Jean Elizabeth; see G 62(5)
Melissa Ann; see G 62(5)
Thomas Carey, G 59(5)
William Davis, G 63(5)
BOGGESS, Eleanor; wife of Joseph Andrew Love, L 16(4)
BOLLIER, Doris; wife of Emmett King Wimberly, H 85(5)
BOOTH, Shirley; wife of Earl Byron Fisher, H 111(5)
BOREN, Marie Carter; wife of Gus Milton Hamer, L 73(5)
BOUTRIE, Florence Olivia (Demarest); wife of Eric Marvin Mallette, G 39(4)
BRACKEN, Linda Levada; wife of Wesley Richard Sydnes. See L 17(4)
BRIGHT, Clara Alice; wife of Chester Elliott Houston, G 89(6)
BRYANT, Clyde; wife of Frank Edgar Everett, Jr., H 95(5)
BURTON, Julie Mae, L 129(6)
Orrie Melvina (King), L 66(5)
BUSH, Mary (Fisher), G 19(4)
BUTTERWORTH, Ethel Emma (Fisher), H 49(4)

C

CAIN, Barbara Lynn, G 131(6)
Susan, G 130(6)
Mary Jane (Yates), G 83(5)
Robert Anthony, G 129(6)
William Michael, G 132(6)
CALVERT, Marybelle; wife of John Armitage Wimberly, H 86(5)
CALVIN, Genevieve Ellen (Walsh); wife of Jack Earl Calvin, G 74(5)
Genevieve (Fisher), G 28(4)
Jack Earl, G 74(5)
Jack Walsh, G 114(6)
CAMBRE, Corrinne; wife of George Earl Fisher, H 43(4)
CAMPBELL, Annie May (Fisher), H 48(4)
Martha Cecile (Nelson), L 58(5)
Martha Henriette, L 112(6)

CANDILIER, Hazel Agnes; wife of Augustus Milton Hamer, L 35(4)
CARMICHAEL, Mollie; wife of George William Louis Fisher, G 16(4)
CARROLL, Margaret; wife of Byron Fisher Ray, H 61(5)
CARSTARPHEN, Alice Eva; wife of James Everett Luster, H 41(4)
CAWTHON, Hazel Myrtice; wife of Claude Augustus Nelson, L 56(5)
CHAPOTEL, Mary Hampton (Hanna) Herron, L 22(4)
Mary Louise, L 50(5)
CHASSONIOL, Doris Rita; wife of William Rocco Mallette, G 77(5)
CHATHAM, Emma; wife of Eugene Sue Fisher, H 11(3)
CHIQUELIN, Lucy; wife of George Ashley Fountain, H 105(5)
CLARKE, Louisa Deliah; 1st wife of George Washington Fisher, G 3(2)
CLOPTON, Mattie; wife of Percy Caston Fisher, G 6(3)
COLEMAN, Aden, H 104(5)
Camille (Luster), H 38(4)
COON, Elsie; wife of Thomas Warren Mitchell, G 92(6)
COOPER, Elizabeth Fisher (Armitage), H 23(4)
COX, Dudley John, L 102(6)
Mary Louise (Chapotel), L 50(5)
CUEVAS, Esther; wife of Warren Liddell Herron, L 49(5)
CUEVET, ... (Hanna), L 47(5)
CUNNINGHAM, Abbie Stark (Armitage), H 29(4)
Emmett King, H 85(5)
Elsie Mae; wife of Robert Aden Armitage, H 24(4)
John Armitage, H 86(5)
CURTIS, Elizabeth Jean, H 185(6)
James Walter, H 186(6)
Laura Belle (White), H 115(5)

D

DAMEK, Dennis James L 147(6)
Lola Dell (Hamer) L 75(5)
DARDEN, Gloria Elizabeth; wife of Robert Armitage May, H 73(5)
DAVIS, Elizabeth; wife of GEORGE FISHER, 1(1)
Ida Leneve (Gibbes), H 90(5)
DE MOSS, Helen; 2nd wife of Hiram Marshall Hanna, L 26(4)
DILL, Beulah; 1st wife of Hiram Marshall Hanna, L 26(4)
DORRIS, Frances Marie; wife of William David Fisher, G 67(5)
DOUTHIT, Chester Dale, G 137(7)
Marilyn (Houston), G 88(6)
Rebecca Minyon, G 138(7)
DOWDIE, Carolyn Sue, G 102(6)
David Fisher, G 104(6)
John Milton, Jr., G 103(6)
Mary Artie (Fisher), G 66(5)
Steven Eugene, G 105(6)

E

EAKES, Arlene; wife of Philip Haman Armitage, H 27(4)
EAST, Alton Rogers, G 55(5)
Billie (Luke); wife of John Fisher East, G 57(5)
Carrie Mae, G 58(5)
Christine G. (Anderson); wife of Alton Rogers East, G 55(5)
Ethel Delia (Fisher), G 20(4)
Ethel Warrene, G 53(5)

George Herman, G 56(5)
George Herman, Jr., G 95(6)
John Fisher, G 57(5)
John Warren, G 96(6)
Margaret Elizabeth (Miller); wife of George Herman East, G 56(5)
Sara Ann, G 93(6)
William Jefferson, G 97(6)
William Wiley, G 54(5)
William Wiley, Jr., G 94(6)
Zexa Mae (Phillips); wife of William Wiley East, G 54(5)
EMMONS, Flora Lee; wife of Joe Harris King, L 67(5)
ERB, Bertha Ann; wife of Teddie Richard Hall, L 78(5)
EVERETT, Clyde (Bryant); wife of Frank Edgar Everett, Jr., H 95(5)
Frank Edgar, Jr., H 95(5)
George Alexander, H 96(5)
George Alexander, Jr., H 165(6)
Karen Ellen, H 166(6)
164(6)
Marion (Alexander); wife of George Alexander Everett, H 96(5)
Sadie (Luster), H 32(4)

F

FARMER, Mildred Estelle; 2nd wife of Wesley Stewart Trout, Jr., L 80(5)
FARRELL, Mary Katherine; wife of Lawrence Edward Mallette, G 36(4)
FINDLEY, Bertie; wife of Harpin LeGrand Fisher, G 23(4)
FISHER, Ada (Tatom); wife of Ernest Anderson Fisher, G 17(4)
Adele, G 31(4)
Aden Davis, H 10(3)
Aden Davis, H 46(4)
Agnes Alberta, G 33(4)
Alice, H 7(3)
Alice Rebecca, G 22(4)
Alma, G 21(4)
Alma (Maynor); wife of Noel Byron Fisher, Jr., H 16(4)
Amelia (Haring); 1st wife of Noel Byron Fisher, H 4(3)
Annie May, H 48(4)
Artie J. (Holderman); 2nd wife of William Davis Fisher, G 4(3)
Averal Allen (Wright); wife of Eugene Henry Fisher, H 47(4)
Bertha Alice, H 45(4)
Bertie (Findley); wife of Harpin LeGrand Fisher, G 23(4)
Betty Jean (Wilkerson); wife of George Warren Fisher. See G 35(4)
Beverly Delores, G 108(6)
Blanche, G 15(3)
Blanche Genevieve, G 34(3)
Burke Hull, H 120(5)
Catherine Louise. See G 35(4)
Charles Andrew, G 72(5)
Charles Brian, G 109(6)
Charles LeGrand, H 51(4)
Corinne (Cambre); wife of George Earl Fisher, H 43(4)
Curtis Wimberly, G 24(4)
Dora Franziska (Kost); wife of George Russell Fisher, H 109(5)
Doris (McGregor); wife of Kay Allison Fisher, H 110(5)
Dorothy (Jenkins); wife of Charles Andrew Fisher, G 72(5)
Earl Byron, H 111(5)
Earl Byron, Jr., H 178(6)
Earle, G. 29(4)
Elizabeth, H 112(5)
Elizabeth (Davis); wife of GEORGE FISHER, 1(1)

Elizabeth Jean, G 90(6)
Elizabeth (Russell); wife of Aden Davis Fisher, H 10(3)
Emery Franklin, G 25(4)
Emma (Chatham); wife of Eugene Sue Fisher, H 11(3)
Erlene Ann, H 179(6)
Ernest Anderson, G 17(4)
Ernest Anderson, Jr., G 51(5)
Ethel Delia, G 20(4)
Ethel Emma, H 49(4)
Eugene Henry, H 47(4)
Eugene Henry, Jr., H 117(5)
Eugene Sue, H 11(3)
Evelyn (McLemore); wife of Walter Russell Fisher, H 42(4)
Fannie Josephine (Neal); 1st wife of Louis Charles Fisher, G 27(4)
Florence, G 48(5)
Florence Louise, G 18(4)
Frances Clifton (Burnet) Lewis; wife of Emery Franklin Fisher, G 25(5)
Frances Marie (Dorris); wife of Wm. David Fisher, G 67(5)
Gayden, H 118(5)
Genevieve, G 9(3)
Genevieve, G 28(4)
Georganne, See G 35(4)
GEORGE, 1 (1)
George Earl, H 43(4)
George Guy, G 35(4)
George Kellar, G 32(4)
George Lawrence, H 180(6)
George Mimms, H 19(4)
George Pynchon, G 7(3)
George Russell, H 109(5)
George Warren. See G 35(4)
George Washington, G 3(2)
George Washington, G 30(4)
George William Louis, G 16(4)
Grace (Puckett) Adley, 1st wife of George Kellar Fisher, G 32(4)
Guy, G 14(3)
Harold LeGrand, G 65(5)
Harpin Davis, G 8(3)
Harpin LeGrand, G 23(4)
Helen (Gray); wife of George Guy Fisher, G 35(4)
Herman, J 9(3)
Hiram (Hymie), H 17(4)
Hiram George, H 9(3)
Hiram, H 2(2)
Hugh Gayden, H 52(4)
Ida Elizabeth, H 8(3)
Ione Frederica, G 13(3)
Jeannie E. (Smith); 2nd wife of George Washington Fisher, G 3(2)
John Curtis, G 68(5)
John Harold, G 107(6)
John Quitman, H 5(3)
John, J 4(2)
June Ann (Jeansonne); wife of Robert Leonard Fisher, H 113(5)
Katie Beatrice, H 13(4)
Kay Allison, H 110(5)
Lee Ernestive (Looney); wife of Hiram (Hymie) Fisher, H 17(4)
Lillie Maude, J 7(3)
Linda Frances, G 69(5)
Louis Charles, G 27(4)
Louis Clarke, G 5(3)
Louisa Deliah (Clarke); 1st wife of George Washington Fisher, G 3(2)
Lucie Mimms, H 15(4)
Lucy Ann (McGuffee); wife of John Fisher, J 4(2)
Lucy Caston (Mimms); 2nd wife of Noel Byron Fisher, H 4(3)
Lucy Pearl, J 8(3)
Lyman LeGrand, G 11(3)
Mabella (or May Belle), G 26(4)
Madeleine, G 10(3)
Margaret Ruth, H 72(5)

Margaret, 1(2)
Maria Louisa 5(2)
Mary, G 19(4)
Mary Ann, H 70(5)
Mary Artie, G 66(5)
Mary (Bay) Johnson; 2nd wife of George Kellar Fisher, G 32(4)
Mary B. (Shaifer); wife of Louis Clarke Fisher, G 5(3)
Mary Elizabeth (Anderson); wife of Hiram Fisher, H 2(2)
Mary Elizabeth (McCorkle); wife of Ernest Anderson Fisher, Jr., G 51(5)
Mary Ella, H 12(3)
Mary Frances, G 73(5)
Mattie (Clopton); wife of Percy Caston Fisher, G 6(3)
Minnie (Word) Sisk; 2nd wife of Louis Charles Fisher, G 27(4)
Minyon, G 50(5)
Mollie (Carmichael); wife of George William Louis Fisher, G 16(4)
Myrtice, J 6(3)
Myrtle, J 5(3)
Nelda, wife of Darrell Pray, L 63 (5)
Noel Byron, H 4(3)
Noel Byron, Jr., H 16(4)
Noel Edwin, H 44(4)
Ophelia, G 49(5)
Pearl Rosalie, G 12(3)
Percy Caston, G 6(3)
Rebecca Jane (Anderson); 1st wife of William Davis Fisher, G 4(3)
Rebecca Lynn. See G 35(4)
Robert Leonard, H 113(5)
Ruby Amelia, H 14(4)
Ruth Carmen (Allen); wife of Hugh Gayden Fisher, H 52(4)
Shirley (Booth); wife of Earl Byron Fisher, H 111(5)
Sue Allen, H 121(5)
Susie Mae, H 18(4)
Tatom, G 52(5)
Tatum, G 91(6)
Thelma, H 50(4)
Virginia Mimms, H 71(5)
Walter Russell, H 42(4)
Walter Scott, H 6(3)
William Calhoun, H 3(3)
William David, G 67(5)
William David, Jr., G 106(6)
William Davis, G 4(3)
FOSTER, Betty Sue; wife of William Morgan Groves, H 127(6)
FOUNTAIN, George Ashley, H 105(5)
George Walter, H 174(6)
Lucille, H 106(5)
Lucy (Chiquelin); wife of George Ashley Fountain, H 105(5)
Robert Ashley, H 175(6)
Virdie Louise (Luster), H 40(4)

G

GALLMAN, Martha Lou; wife of William Welby Price, Jr., H 66(5)
GEARY, Dorothy Nell, L 86(6)
Freda Beth, L 87(6)
Elizabeth Maria (Sydnes), L 40(5)
Marjorie (Weeks); wife of Thomas Ray Geary, L 85(6)
Robert Daniel, L 170(7)
Thomas Ray, L 85(6)
GIBBES, Ann Stewart, H 161(6)
Annie White (Stewart); wife of John Lake Gibbs, Jr., H 91(5)
Anna Wilmont, H 89(5)
Frank Earlton, H 94(5)
Henrietta Ann (Taylor); wife of Walter Henry Gibbes, H 92(5)

Herman DeSaussure, H 93(5)
Ida Leneve, H 90(5)
John Lake, Jr., H 91(5)
Leneve, H 163(6)
Lillian (Luster), H 31(4)
Lucy Luster, H 162(6)
Ludye Rebecca (Armitage), H 21(4)
Miriam (Pilley); wife of Herman DeSaussure Gibbes, H 93(5)
Walter Henry, H 92(5)
Walter Henry, Jr., H 164(6)
GOODHUE, Wanda; wife of Douglas Fisher Price, H 67(5)
GOODWIN, Anna Wilmont (Gibbes), H 89(5)
John Reed, H 159(6)
Lake Gibbes, H 160(6)
GRACE, Cornelia Elizabeth (Hanna), L 6(3)
GRAFTON, Treasure; wife of Douglas Martin Armitage, H 28(4)
GRAY, Helen; wife of George Guy Fisher, G 35(4)
GROVES, Amelia Russell (Hutchins), H 55(5)
Betty Sue (Foster); wife of William Morgan Groves, H 127(6)
Charles Jefferson, Jr., H 128(6)
Daniel Ray, H 131(6)
Donald Charles, H 131(6)
Donald Charles, H 193(7)
Edna Louise (Young); wife of Charles Jefferson Groves, H 128(6)
Noel Fisher, H 130(6)
Ronald Clay, H 192(7)
William Anthony, H 191(7)
William Morgan, H 129(6)

H

HACKLER, Mary Emma; wife of John Lucien O'Neal, G 64(5)
HAIRSTON, Carol, H 175(6)
Lucille (Fountain), H 106(5)
Robert Ashley, H 176(6)
HALL, Bertha Ann (Erb); wife of Teddie Richard Hall, L 78(5)
Charles Alonzo, Jr., L 76(5)
Charles Alva, L 149(6)
Jerry Dean, L 151(6)
Juanita Lorene, L 150(6)
Lucille (Hamer), L 37(4)
Marjorie Lorraine (Merritt); wife of Charles Alonzo Hall, L 76(5)
Rosa May, L 77(5)
Sandra Sue, L 153(6)
Teddie Eugene, L 154(6)
Teddie Richard, L 78(5)
HAMER, Alice, L 30(4)
Augustus Milton, L 35(4)
Beverly (Williams); wife of Milton Henry Hamer, L 71(5)
Cecil Nannie, L 38(4)
Connie Elizabeth, L 139(6)
Cuba Fay, L 72(5)
Edwin Leslie, L 39(4)
Gregory James, L 138(6)
Grigsby, L 36(4)
Gus Milton, L 73(5)
Hazel Agnes (Candilier); wife of Augustus Milton Hamer, L 35(4)
Hazel Margaret, L 74(5)
Jeptha Spann, L 29(4)
Jesse Minerva, L 33(4)
Josephine Miranda, L 34(4)
Lola Dell, L 75(5)
Lucille, L 37(4)
Marie Carter (Boren); wife of Gus Milton Hamer, L 73(5)
Martha Spann (Hanna), L 10(3)
Mary Ann, L 31(4)
Mildred Hazel, L 70(5)
Milton Henry, L 71(5)
Milton Henry, Jr., L 138(6)
Sarah Ann, L 32(4)

HAMPTON, Mary Ann; wife of Charles Perry Hanna, L 9(3)
HANNA, Anna Belle, L 24(4)
Beulah (Dill); 1st wife of Hiram Marshall Hanna, H 26(4)
Charles Perry, L 9(3)
Charles Wellington, L 21(4)
Cornelia Elizabeth, L 6(3)
Elizabeth (Hartz); 2nd wife of Charles Wellington Hanna, L 21(4)
Emma (Miles); wife of Miranda Frank Hanna, L 25(4)
Erline Paris (King); wife of George Fisher Hanna, L 28(4)
Eugenia Newman, L 23(4)
George Fisher, L 28(4)
George Fisher, Jr., L 52(5)
Hattie (Beasley); wife of Charles Wellington Hanna, L 21(4)
Helen (DeMoss); 2nd wife of Hiram Marshall Hanna, L 26(4)
Hiram Marshall, L 26(4)
James Andrew, L 3(3)
Jeptha, L 13(3)
Joan Erline, L 51(5)
Marandy (or Miranda) Abram, L 12(3)
Margaret (Richmond); wife of Samuel Dillard Hanna, L 27(4)
Marshall, L 5(3)
Martha Spann, L 10(3)
Mary Ann, L 8(3)
Mary Ann (Hampton); wife of Charles Perry Hanna, H 9(3)
Mary Ann (Robinson), L 2(2)
Mary Hampton, L 22(4)
Matilda, L 7(3)
Miranda Frank, L 25(4)
Nannie, L 4(3)
Samuel Dillard, L 27(4)
William Henry, L 11(3)
HARING, Amelia; 1st wife of Noel Byron Fisher, H 4(3)
HARMON, Claudette, L 169(6)
Debra Lynn, L 168(6)
Nancy Darlene, L 167(6)
Peggy Lou (Trout), L 84(5)
HARRISON, Elsie Jean; wife of Thomas Carey Blocksom, Jr., G 62(5)
HARTZ, Elizabeth; 2nd wife of Charles Wellington Hanna, L 21(4)
HERRON, Esther (Cuevas); wife of Warren Liddell Herron, L 49(5)
Katherine Ann, L 101(6)
Mary Hampton (Hanna), L 22(4)
Warren Liddell, L 49(5)
Warren Liddell, Jr., L 99(6)
William Edouard, L 100(6)
HICKS, Anna Belle (Hanna), L 24(4)
HIGDON, Ida Dolores (Armitage), H 30(4)
Parker Blake, Jr., H 87(5)
Parker Blake, III, H 158(6)
Paul Armitage, H 88(5)
Zay (Spruill); wife of Parker Blake Higdon, H 87(5)
HILL, Betty Jean (Tatum), H 98(5)
Mary Laurin, H 167(6)
HOBBS, Inda Doyle; wife of William Goebel Mize, Jr., H 135(6)
HOLMAN, Martha Ann (Hutchins), H 122(6)
HORNE, Cuba Fay (Hamer), L 72(5)
Kathleen, L 141(6)
Rock E., L 142(6)
Thomas Mack, Jr., L 140(6)

HOLDERMAN, Artie J.; 2nd wife of William Davis Fisher, G 4(3)
HOUSTON, Chester Elliott, G 89(6)
Clara Alice (Bright); wife of Chester Elliott Houston, G 89(6)
Kathy Euline, G 140(7)
Marilyn, G 88(6)
Minyon (Fisher), G 50(5)
Rebecca Minyon, G 139(7)
HUBBARD, Mildred Lillian; wife of Samuel Melvin White, III, H 116(5)
Roma; wife of Sydney Knox Askew, Jr., H 99(5)
HURST, Julia; wife of Joseph George Yates, G 45(4)
HUTCHINS, Amelia Russell, H 55(5)
Barbara Ellen, H 124(6)
Betty Jane, H 123(6)
Charlotte Sue, H 127(6)
Dorothy Louise, H 126(6)
Edwin Vandorn, H 53(5)
Emma (Stewart); wife of Edwin Vandorn Hutchins, H 53(5)
James Edward, H 57(5)
Katie Beatrice (Fisher), H 13(4)
Leola Marie, H 59(5)
Martha Ann, H 12(6)
12(6)
Ruby, H 56(5)
Shirley Carolyn, H 125(6)
Wade Hampton, H 58(5)
Zolly C., H 54(5)
HUTCHINSON, Elizabeth Broun; wife of William George Parmenter, G 42(4)

J

JAMES, Betty Jo (Ray), H 137(6)
Carrie Mae (East) G 58(5)
Gerald Warren, G 100(6)
James Alton, G 99(6)
Otho Edward, III, G 98(6)
JEANSONNE, June Ann; wife of Robert Leonard Fisher, H 113(5)
JENKINS, Dorothy; wife of Charles Andrew Fisher, G 72(5)
Lillie Maude (Fisher), J 7(3)
Margaret Maude, J 10(4)
Ruth, J 12(4)
Wilma, J 11(4)
JOHNSON, Alice Rosalie (Armitage), H 26(4)
Frank Fisher, H 81(5)
Irma; wife of George Alfred Nelson, L 54(6)
Joyce Armitage, H 80(5)
Marie Louise (May), H 76(5)
Mary (Bay); 2nd wife of George Kellar Fisher, G 32(4)
Mary Jane, H 83(5)
Ralph Burton, H 82(5)
JOHNSTON, Bettie Gail, L 89(6)
Billie Pauline, L 88(6)
Catherine Gale; wife of Thomas John Mallette, G 78(5)
James Olaf, L 90(6)
Karen Denice, L 180(7)
Lois Georgine (Statation); wife of James Olaf Johnston L 90(6)
Mary Irene (Sydnes), L 41(5)
Patricia Ann (Thurber); wife of Thomas Warren Johnston, L 91(6)
Thomas Warren, L 91(6)
JONES, Lewis Ivy, Jr., H 119(5)
Thelma (Fisher), H 50(4)

K

KEETON, Cassie Ann, L 171(7)
Dorothy Nell (Geary), L 86(6)
Geary Lee, L 172(7)

KING, Erline Paris; wife of George Fisher Hanna, L 28(4)
Flora Lee (Emmons); wife of Joe Harris King, L 67(5)
Flora Lorenne, L 130(6)
Frances Jo, L 127(6)
Helen Louise (Randolph); wife of William Dexter King, Jr., L 65(5)
Jack Wallin, L 68(5)
Jack Wallin, Jr., L 133(6)
Joe Harris, L 67(5)
Josephine Miranda (Hanna), L 34(4)
Judia Jo, L 134(6)
Marcine, L 69(5)
Orrie Melvina, L 66(5)
Stanley Travis, L 132(6)
Sylvia Ann, L 128(6)
Wanda Nell (Parsons); wife of Jack Wallin King, L 68(5)
William Dexter, L 65(5)
William Dexter, L 131(6)
KINZER, Audrey Lucille (Blocksom), G 61(5)
Thomas Joyce, III, G 101(6)
KIRKMYER, Dorothy Nell; wife of Ralph Mentor Love, L 45(5)
KISSEL, Mariane; wife of Walter Bronson Adams, III, H 102(5)
KOST, Dora Franziska; wife of George Russell Fisher, H 107(5)
KUNKEL, Betty Sue (Meador), L 151(6)
Terry Keith, L 193(7)

L

LA BORDE, Billie Pauline (Johnston), L 88(6)
Debra Kay, L 176(7)
Donna Marie, L 177(7)
Roger Warren, L 175(7)
LANGSTON, Clara; wife of William Groves Powell, J 14(4)
LE BLANC, Marjorie, wife of George Jeptha Lee, L 104(6)
LEE, Adrienne, L 185(7)
Beverly Elaine, L 186(7)
Charlotte Elizabeth, L 187(7)
Dorothy Ann (Luttrel); wife of Merriam Albert Lee, L 105(6)
George Jeptha, L 104(6)
James Nelson, L 103(6)
Joy Christina, L 106(6)
Merriam Albert, L 105(6)
Merriam Christina (Nelson), L 53(5)
Margaret Joan; wife of William Frank Powell, J 18(5)
Marjorie (Le Blanc); wife of George Jeptha Lee, L 104(6)
Martha (Managan); wife of James Nelson Lee, L 103(6)
Nelson Managan, L 183(7)
Stuart Rogers, L 184(7)
LESTER, Elizabeth Claire, H 181(6)
Elizabeth (Fisher), H 112(5)
Leu Anne, H 182(6)
LEWIS, Frances Clifton (Burnet); wife of Emery Franklin Fisher, G 25(4)
LISHMAN, Myra Lee; wife of Jeptha Bernard Nelson, L 59(5)
LOFTON, Nonnie Geneva; wife of William Dean Armitage, H 25(4)
LOONEY, Lee Ernestine; wife of Hymie Fisher, H 17(4)
LOVE, Cornelia Elizabeth, L 17(4)
Dorothy Nell (Kirkmyer); wife of Ralph Mentor Love, L 45(5)
Eleanor (Boggess); wife of Joseph Andrew Love, H 16(4)
Frances Marion, L 19(4)
Jane Ellen, L 95(6)

Joseph Andrew, L 16(4)
Joseph Ralph, L 96(6)
Leah, L 18(4)
Leah Eleanor, L 44(5)
Mary Ann (Hanna), L 8(3)
Nellie Hanna, L 15(4)
Ralph Mentor, L 45(5)
Robert Edwin, L 20(4)
Walter Perry, L 14(4)
LUSTER, Alice Eva (Carstarphen); wife of James Everett Luster, H 41(4)
Alline, H 34(4)
Camille, H 38(4)
Florence Irene (Askew); wife of George Walter Luster, H 36(4)
George Walter, Jr., H 36(4)
Gladys, H 39(4)
Ida Elizabeth (Fisher), H 8(3)
Ida Ethlyn, H 37(4)
James Everett, H 41(4)
James Everett, Jr., H 108(5)
Jean Elizabeth, H 107(5)
Lillian, H 31(4)
Lucille, H 35(4)
Marion Melvin, H 101(5)
Mary Eliza, H 33(4)
Sadie, H 32(4)
Virdie Louise, H 40(4)
LUKE, Billie; wife of John Fisher East, G 57(5)
LUTTREL, Dorothy Ann; wife of Merriam Albert Lee, L 105(6)

M

MALLETTE, Beverly Sue, G 117(6)
Caroline Gale, G 127(6)
Catherine Gale (Johnston); wife of Thomas John Mallette, G 78(5)
Charles Earl, G 76(5)
Doris Elaine, G 118(6)
Doris Rita (Chassaniol); wife of William Rocco Mallette, G 77(5)
Earl B., G 38(4)
Eric Marvin, G 39(4)
Florence Olivia (Demarest) Boutrie; wife of Eric Marvin Mallette, G 39(4)
Frances Lou (McSwain); wife of Lawrence Thomas Mallette, G 75(5)
Genevieve (Fisher), G 9(3)
James Thomas, G 128(6)
Jayne Marie, G 124(6)
John Charles, G 126(6)
Karl, G 37(4)
Lawrence Edward, G 36(4)
Lawrence Thomas, G 75(5)
Lawrence, G 115(6)
Margaret, G 122(6)
Mary Louellyn, G 116(6)
Mary Katherine (Farrell); wife of Lawrence Edward Mallette, G 36(4)
Mary Katherine, G 120(6)
Michael Spencer, G 121(6)
Patricia, G 123(6)
Robert Amory, G 125(6)
Thomas John, G 78(5)
William Rocco, G 77(5)
William Rocco, Jr., G 119(6)
MANAGAN, Martha; wife of James Nelson Lee, L 103(6)
MASON, Jewell (Trout), L 81(5)
Judy Marcell, L 160(6)
Patricia Ann, L 159(6)
MAY, George William, H 75(5)
Gloria Ann, H 150(6)
Gloria Elizabeth (Darden); wife of Robert Armitage May, H 73(5)
Joe Anselm, H 74(5)
Marie Louise, H 76(5)
Marie Louise (Armitage), H 22(4)
Robert Allen, H 151(6)
Robert Armitage, H 73(5)

MAYNOR, Alma; wife of Noel Byron Fisher, H 16(4)
McCORKLE, Mary Elizabeth; wife of Ernest Anderson Fisher, G 51(5)
McGREGOR, Doris; wife of Kay Allison Fisher, H 110(5)
McGUFFEE, Lucy Ann; wife of John Fisher, J 4(2)
McKINNON, James Holt, L 94(6)
Leah Eleanor (Love), L 44(5)
McLEMORE, Evelyn; wife of Walter Russell Fisher, H 42(4)
Saydee Elizabeth (Wilkerson); wife of Frank L. McLemore. See H 10(3)
McNAIR, Mabel; wife of Noel Byron Price, H 69(5)
McSWAIN, Frances Lou; wife of Lawrence Thomas Mallette, G 75(5)
MEADOR, Betty Sue, L 155(6)
Elizabeth Cornelia (Trout) L 79(5)
MERIWETHER, Gwendolyn; wife of John Braxton Powell, Jr., J 16(4)
MERRITT, Marjorie Lorraine; wife of Charles Alonzo Hall, L 76(5)
MILES, Emma; wife of Miranda Frank Hanna, L 25(4)
MILLER, Margaret Elizabeth; wife of George Herman East, G 56(5)
MIMMS, Lucy Caston; 2nd wife of Noel Byron Fisher, H 4(3)
MITCHELL, Elsie (Coon; wife of Thomas Warren Mitchell, G 92(6)
Ethel Warrene (East), G 53(5)
James Harold, G 142(7)
Thomas Reagan, G 141(7)
Thomas Warren, G 92(6)
MITCHNER, Mildred; wife of Walter Aden White, H 114(5)
MIZE, Allen Hobbs, H 195(7)
Clara (Ray), H 60(5)
Geren McLemore, H 196(7)
Inda Doyle, H 197(7)
Inda Doyle (Hobbs); wife of William Goebel Mize, Jr., H 135(6)
Jerry Lawrence. See H 60(5)
Nancy Ray, H 136(6)
William Goebel, III, H 194(7)
William Goebel, Jr., H 135(6)
MOORE, Lucille (Luster), H 35(4)
MORRISON, June Ione; wife of Frederick LeGrand Yates, Jr., G 86(5)
MORSE, Mary Ann (Fisher), H 70(5)
Stephen Lamar, H 145(6)

N

NEAL, Fannie Josephine; 1st wife of Louis Charles Fisher G 27(4)
NELSON, Carl Melton, L 57(5)
Claude Augustus, L 56(5)
Dora R. (Roberts); wife of Julius Everett Nelson, L 55(5)
Dorothy Jane, L 108(6)
George Alfred, L 54(5)
George Alfred, Jr. L 107(6)
Hazel Myrtice (Cawthon); wife of Claude Augustus Nelson, L 56(5)
Irma (Johnson); wife of George Alfred Nelson, L 54(6)
Janet, L 115(6)
Jeptha Bernard, L 59(5)
Jeptha Bernard, Jr., L 113(6)
Jeptha Spann (Hamer), L 29(4)
Jonathan, L 114(6)
Julius Everett, L 55(5)
Martha Cecile, L 58(5)
Merriam Christina, L 53(5)
Myra Lee (Lishman); wife of

Jeptha Bernard Nelson, L 59(5)
Myrtice Claudyne, L 111(6)
Raymond Julius, L 110(6)
Robert Everett, L 109(6)
Rosa May (Hall), L 77(5)
Terry Richard, L 148(6)
William Ray. See L 56(5)
NEUMAN, Hazel Margaret (Hamer), L 74(5)
Jesse Eric, Jr., L 143(6)
Raymond Aubrey, L 144(6)
Sharon Dell, L 145(6)
Sheila Kay, L 146(6)
NORRIS, Shelby Jean; wife of Harold Gene Barrow, L 93(6)

O

OLEIS, Frances Elaine (Yates), G 84(5)
John Yates, G 133(6)
O'NEAL, Alice Rebecca (Fisher), G 22(4)
John Lucien, G 64(5)
Mary Emma (Hackler); wife of John Lucien O'Neal, G 64(5)

P

PARMENTER, David Fisher, G 81(5)
Elizabeth Broun, G 82(5)
Elizabeth Broun (Hutchinson); wife of William George Parmenter, G 42(4)
Helen Fisher, G 41(4)
Ione Frederica (Fisher), G 13(3); wife of William Ellison Parmenter, Jr.
James Hutchinson, G 80(5)
Mary Fisher, G 40(4)
William George, G 42(4)
William Thomas, G 79(5)
PARSONS, Wanda Nell; wife of Jack Wallin King, L 68(5)
PICKETT, Leola Bailey (Wilkerson). See H 10(3)
Nancy Elizabeth. See H 10(3)
Janiel Katherine. See H 10(3)
PILLEY, Miriam; wife of Herman DeSaussure Gibbes, H 93(5)
PHILLIPS, Zexa Mae; wife of William Wiley East, G 54(5)
PLYANT, Barry Bernard, H 155(6); Jeanne (Armitage), H 79(5)
Sherry Jeanne, H 154(6)
POWELL, Clara (Langston); wife of William Groves Powell, G 14(4)
Fisher Thomas, J 15(4)
Gwendolyn (Meriwether); wife of John Braxton Powell, Jr., J 16(4)
Jerrod Lee, J 19(5)
John Braxton, J 16(4)
John Braxton, Jr., J 20(5)
Lucy Pearl (Fisher), J 8(3)
Ludye Pearl, J 13(4)
Margaret Joan (Lee); wife of William Frank Powell, J 18(5)
Michael Meriwether, J 21(5)
Rebecca (Wright); wife of Fisher Thomas Powell, J 15(4)
William Frank, J 18(5)
William Groves, Jr., J 14(4)
PRAY, Curtis Greylon, L 64(5)
Curtis Greylon, Jr., L 125(6)
Darrell, L 63(5)
Darrel Lynn, L 124(6)
Dorothy (Webb); wife of Curtis Greylon Pray, L 64(5)
Gary Lee, L 117(6)
George Clint, L 61(5)
Harold Lynn, L 123(6)
Horace, L 120(6)
James Dwain, L 119(6)
Jesse Minerva (Hamer), L 33(4)
Juanita, L 122(6)
Lewis Melton, L 116(6)
Loretha (Sparks); wife of Ru-

fus Pray, L 60(5)
Maggie (Shockley); wife of Olen Hamer Pray, L 62(5)
Mark Alan, L 118(6)
Nelda (Fisher); wife of Darrell Pray, L 63(5)
Olen Hamer, L 62(5)
Ray, L 121(6)
Rufus, L 60(5)
Stephen Reese, L 126(6)
Vera Mae (Summers); wife of George Clint Pray, L 61(5)
PRICE, Betty Sue, H 139(6)
Cathrine Harriet, H 141(6)
Cynthia Diane, H 143(6)
Cynthia Louise (Virden); wife of Robert Edward Price, H 68(5)
Douglas Fisher, H 67(5)
Helen Fisher (Yates), G 85(5)
Lucie Ann, H 140(6)
Lucie Mimms (Fisher), H 15(4)
Mabel (McNair); wife of Noel Byron Price, H 69(5)
Martha Lou (Gallman); wife of William Welby Price, Jr., H 66(5)
Martha Lou. See H 66(5)
Noel Byron, H 69(5)
Noel Byron, Jr., H 144(6)
Richard Donald, G 134(6)
Robert Edward, H 68(5)
Wanda (Goodhue); wife of Douglas Fisher Price, H 67(5)
William Douglas, H 142(6)
William Welby, Jr., H 66(5)
PRYOR, Aden (Coleman), H 104(5)

R

RAGSDALE, Freda Beth (Geary), L 87(6)
Patrick Kevin, L 174(7)
Shannon Kay, L 173(7)
RANDOLPH, Helen Louise; wife of William Dexter King, Jr., L 65(5)
RAY, Betty Jo, H 137(6)
Birdie Louise Welford, G 71(5), wife of Bennie Leo Ray.
Byron Fisher, H 61(5)
Byron Fisher, Jr., H 138(6)
Charles Menard, H 63(5)
Clara, H 60(5)
Clytee (Thorn); wife of Charles Menard Ray, H 63(5)
Dorothy (Baine); wife of Robert Kenneth Ray, H 64(5)
John Miles, H 65(5)
Laverne (Tartt); wife of John Miles Ray, H 65(5)
Margaret (Carroll); wife of Byron Fisher Ray, H 61(5)
Robert Kenneth, H 64(5)
Rosa May (Hall) Nelson, L 77(5)
Ruby Amelia (Fisher), H 14(4)
Sol Causey Ray, Jr., H 62(5)
RICHMOND, Marguerette; wife of Samuel Dillard Hanna, L 27(4)
ROBERTS, Dora R.; wife of Julius Everett Nelson, L 55(5)
ROBINSON, Mary Ann, L 2(2)
RUSSELL, Elizabeth; wife of Aden Fisher, H 10(3)

S

SCARPERO, ... (Hanna), L 48(5)
SHAIFER, Mary B.; wife of Louis Clarke Fisher, G 5(3)
SHOCKLEY, Maggie; wife of Olen Hamer Pray, L 62(5)
SIMPSON, Barbara Jean, L 162(6)
Billie Lucille (Trout), L 82(5)
Joseph Melvin Simpson, Jr., L 161(6)
Richard Wayne, L 163(6)

SISK, Minnie (Word); 2nd wife of Louis Charles Fisher G 2(4)
SMITH, Jeannie E., 2nd wife of George Washington Fisher, G 3(2)
SPARKS, Loretha; wife of Rufus Pray, L 60(5)
SPRUILL, Zay, wife of Parker Blake Higdon, H 87(5)
STATATION, Lois Georgine; wife of James Olaf Johnston, L 90(6)
STEWART, Annie White; wife of John Lake Gibbes, Jr., H 91(5)
Emma; wife of Edwin Vandorn Hutchins, H 63(5)
SULLIVAN, Franklin Eugene, L 181(7)
Jacqueline Ann, L 182(7)
Virginia Lee (Thorne), L 92(6)
SUMMERS, Vera Mae; wife of George Clint Pray, L 61(5)
SYDNES, Bonnie Lynn. See L 17(4)
Cornelia Elizabeth (Love), L 17(4)
Elizabeth Marie, L 40(5)
Frances Cecil, L 46(5)
Linda Levada (Bracken); wife of Wesley Richard Sydnes. See L 17(4)
Mary Irene, L 41(5)
Nellie Hanna (Love), L 15(4)
Nellie Jacqueline, L 43(5)
Wesley Richard. See L 17(4)
William Olaf, L 42(5)

T

TARTT, Laverne; wife of John Miles Ray, H 65(5)
TATOM, Ada; wife of Ernest Anderson Fisher, G 17(4)
TATUM, Betty Jean, H 98(5)
Jane Elizabeth, H 97(5)
Mary Eliza (Luster), H 33(4)
TAYLOR, Henrietta Ann; wife of Walter Henry Gibbes, H 92(5)
THOMPSON, Charlene, L 191(7)
Claudia Jane, L 189(7)
Cynthia Leu, L 192(7)
Hazel Kathryn, L 190(7)
Myrtice Claudyne (Nelson), L 111(6)
Susie Mae (Fisher), H 18(4)
THORN, Clytee; wife of Charles Menard Ray, H 63(5)
THORNE, Nellie Jacqueline (Sydnes), L 43(5)
Virginia Lee Thorne, L 92(6)
THURBER, Patricia Ann; wife of Thomas Warren Johnston, L 91(6)
TROEGEL, Elizabeth Maria (Sydnes) Geary, L 40(5)
TROUT, Billie Lucille, L 82(5)
Billie Marie (Wicker); 1st wife of Wesley Stewart Trout, III, L 80(5)
Cecil Nannie (Hamer), L 38(4)
David Hamer, L 83(5)
David Hamer, Jr., L 164(6)
Elizabeth Cornelia, L 79(5)
Jewell, L 81(5)
Larry Upton, L 165(6)
Lawanna (Upton); wife of David Hamer Trout, Jr., L 83(5)
Mildred Estelle (Farmer); 2nd wife of Wesley Stewart Trout, Jr., L 80(5)
Nita Gay, L 158(6)
Peggy Lou, L 84(5)
Phillip Lee, L 166(6)
Rita Kay, L 157(6)
Wesley Stewart, Jr., L 80(5)
Wesley Stewart, III, L 156(6)

U

UPTON, Lawanna; wife of David Hamer Trout, Jr., L 83(5)

V

VIRDEN, Cynthia Louise; wife of Robert Edward Price, H 68(5)

W

WAGNER, Marcine (King), L 69(5)
WALSH, Genevieve Ellen; wife of Jack Earl Calvin, G 74(5)
WEBB, Dorothy; wife of Curtis Greylon Pray, L 64(5)
WEEKS, Marjorie; wife of Thomas Ray Geary, L 85(6)
WELFORD, Birdie Louise, G 71(5)
Mabella (Fisher), G 26(4)
Mary Frances, G 70(5)
WHEAT, Pauline; wife of Xavier E. Wilkerson. See H 10(3)
WHITE, Aden Davis (Fisher), H 46(4)
Bertha Alice (Fisher), H 45(4)
George Jefferson, H 189(6)
John Fisher, H 147(6)
Laura Belle, H 115(5)
Margaret Jane, H 148(6)
Mildred Ann, H 184(6)
Mildred Lillian, H 187(6)
Mildred Lillian (Hubbard); wife of Samuel Melvin White, III, H 116(6)
Mildred (Mitchner) wife of Walter Aden White, H 114(5)
Samuel Malcolm, H
Samuel Melvin, III, H 116(5)
Virginia Mimms (Fisher), H 71(5)
Walter Aden, H 114(5)
Walter Aden, Jr., H 183(6)
Walter Warren, III, H 146(6)
William Jeffrey, H 149(6)
WICKER, Billie Marie; 1st wife of Wesley Stewart Trout, III, L 80(5)
WILKERSON, Betty Jean; wife of George Warren Fisher. See G 35(4)
Elizabeth (Russell) Fisher; wife of Xavier E. Wilkerson. See H 10(3)
Leola Bailey; wife of William Austin Pickett. See H 10(3)
Saydee Elizabeth; wife of Frank L. McLemore. See H 10(3)
Xavier E. See H 10(3)
Bettie Gail (Johnston), L 89(6)
James David, L 179(7)
Lamar Sigurd, L 178(7)
WILLIAMS, Beverly; wife of Milton Henry Hamer, L 71(5)
WILLOUGHBY, Charles Lloyd, G 112(6)
Gertrude Adele, G 113(6)
Linda Gail, G 110(6)
Mary Frances (Fisher), G 73(5)
Stephen Wayne, G 111(6)
WIMBERLY, Abbie Stark (Armitage) Cunningham, H 29(4)
Doris (Bollier); wife of Emmett King Wimberly, H 85(5)
Emmett King, H 85(5)
John Armitage, H 86(5)
Marybelle (Calvert); wife of John Armitage Wimberly, H 86(5)
Robert Paul, H 156(6)
Susan Calvert, H 157(6)
WINN, Betty Claire. See J 12(4)
Dorothy Dean. See J 12(4)
Ruth (Jenkins), J 12(4)
WRIGHT, Averal Allen; wife of Eugene Henry Fisher, H 47(4)
Rebecca; wife of Fisher Thomas Powell, J 15(4)

Y

YAGER, Catherine Barnes, J 23(6)
Dorothy Ruth (Barnes), J 17(5)
Walter Claiborne Yager, Jr., J 22(6)
YATES, Billie Lou (Adams); wife of Charles Jerome Yates, G 87(5)
Blanche (Fisher), G 15(3)
Charles Jerome, G 87(5)
Dale Clark, G 135(6)
Dorothy, G 47(4)
Frances Elaine, G 84(5)
Frederick LeGrand, G 44(4)
Frederick LeGrand, Jr., G 86(5)
Helen Fisher, G 85(5)
Jane Louise, G 46(4)
Joseph George, G 45(4)
Julia (Hurst); wife of Joseph George Yates, G 45(4)
June Ione (Morrison); wife of Frederick LeGrand Yates, Jr., G 86(5)
Lauren Ione, G 136(6)
Mary Jane, G 83(5)
Percy Jerome, Jr., G 43(4)
Willena (Bailey); wife of Frederick LeGrand Yates, G 44(4)
YOUNG, Edna Louise; wife of Charles Jefferson Groves, H 128(6)